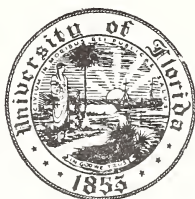



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THE WORKS AND LIFE OF
CHRISTOPHER MARLOWE
GENERAL EDITOR: R. H. CASE

THE LIFE OF MARLOWE
THE TRAGEDY OF DIDO
QUEEN OF CARTHAGE

THE LIFE OF MARLOWE
AND
THE TRAGEDY OF DIDO
QUEEN OF CARTHAGE

C. F. TUCKER BROOKE

PROFESSOR OF ENGLISH IN YALE UNIVERSITY



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GENERAL PREFACE

IN the volume before him, containing Professor Tucker Brooke's new Life of Marlowe and edition of what was probably the poet's earliest play, the reader sees the first of a series of six, which have been planned to give, with the Life aforesaid, all the extant plays and poems, with a fullness of explanation and illustration which they have not hitherto received in common, although separate plays have enjoyed this benefit from their editors.

It is now many years since Marlowe's works were edited by the late Mr. A. H. Bullen, and the Oxford issue of Marlowe (1909), though very full in respect of introductory matter and variant readings, did not explain or illustrate the text. Apart from the fact that Mr. Bullen's edition, like those of Dyce and Cunningham before it, was planned for a limited amount of annotation, much material of every kind has long been coming to light for the use of later editors. The incorporation of the results of recent researches in regard to Marlowe's life and the sources of his works, and the employment of the accumulations of linguistic and general knowledge for the purposes of illustration, will make the present edition, it is hoped, useful to students, notwithstanding the modernized spelling of the text, as well as to the less expert reader, for whose sake such spelling has been adopted. While the lesser writer in prose or verse should not be re-apparelled, since his appeal, outside anthologies, is principally to those who—like the writer—will love him best in his own old-fashioned garb, and those who will study him chiefly for linguistic purposes, the genius for all time and for every audience—provided his

original form is easily accessible elsewhere—can unrebukably be simplified in approach so far as mere change of spelling goes, which does not necessarily imply the substitution of modern forms of words. His thought will no less reveal and inspire, and the appeal of his music will be undiminished, whether he is animating us with high-sounding terms or bewitching us with unfamiliar harmonies or—strange mastery—moving pity and terror with the squalid detail of a foul dungeon. Indeed, if the modern reader could hear Marlowe's words with the self-same sound they took in the poet's own ears, which no old spelling will empower him to do, it would not please him so well as his own rendering from a modern text.

As in the case of the Arden Shakespeare, which has also served as a model in other respects, the volumes have been entrusted to separate editors, each responsible for a separate introduction or introductions to his part of the work ; but an improvement on that series will be the addition of indices and bibliographies in each volume. The text, variant readings and explanatory notes are given on the same page in differing type, a method which has proved extremely convenient to users of the Shakespeare volumes.

I should be sorry to conclude this brief note without grateful acknowledgment of the generous co-operation of the editor of the present volume, who not only welcomed this edition of Marlowe's works in lieu of that promised in his preface to the Oxford Marlowe, but, in addition to his editorial work, has placed his collections for a complete edition at the service of his fellow editors.

March, 1930

R. H. CASE

PREFACE

QUOTATIONS in the body of the *Life of Marlowe* are generally in modern spelling, except that proper names are in each case spelled as in the works cited. Passages quoted in the footnotes, both in the *Life* and in *Dido*, are ordinarily given in their original form. The Appendixes attempt to reproduce the chief documents on which the *Life* is based (in so far as they have not been fully quoted in the text) without alteration of any kind.

The material in Appendixes I, II, and III, most of that in Appendix X, and the entries in the parish registers of St. Andrew's and St. Mary Bredman, Canterbury, in the first chapter have not been printed before. For the last I am indebted to the kindness of the Rev. A. A. Carter, Rector of St. Margaret's, Canterbury. I am pleased to find that Dr. Boas, in his recent book, *Marlowe and his Circle*, has independently set the weight of his judgment on the side of the unspectacular interpretation I have given to the circumstances of Marlowe's death.

My thanks are due in particular to the Trustees and officers of the Henry E. Huntington Library at San Marino, California, whose hospitality and assistance of many kinds have greatly facilitated and improved this work. To Professor J. Le Gay Brereton of the University of Sydney, Australia, I am under obligation for a number of notes on *Dido* (a small portion of the unprinted comments on Marlowe which he has permitted me to see); and to Professor R. H. Case, the General Editor of this series, I owe a great deal more than I have been able to express in the notes in which his authority is invoked.

Yale University

Feb. 1930

C. F. T. B.

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PART I

THE LIFE OF MARLOWE

CHAPTER I CANTERBURY

THE name Marlowe¹ was, in an incidental way, written into the history of London drama over a century and a half before the birth of Christopher. Richard Marlowe, ironmonger, was successively Sheriff of London and Lord Mayor in the reign of Henry Bolingbroke. John Weever² quotes the inscription on his tomb in the church of St. Michael at Queenhithe: 'Orate pro animabus Richardi Marloi quondam venerabilis Maioris Ciuitatis London, & Agnetis consortis sue . . .' 'This Marlow', adds Weever, 'was Lord Mayor in the year 1409, in whose mayoralty there was a play at Skinners' Hall³ which lasted

¹ Originally, like so many others, it was a place-name, as in the well-known village on the Thames. Mr. W. B. Gerish (*Notes and Queries*, 4 Nov. 1911) notes that *Marlowes* occurs as the name of a house in Berkhamsted, and a road, or perhaps district, in Hemel Hempstead. The etymology seems to be Anglo-Saxon *mere*, a pool, and *hlaew*, hill. It would thus appear to mean 'the hill beside the pool' (T. W. Huck, *Notes and Queries*, 25 Nov. 1911).

² *Ancient Funeral Monuments*, 1631, p. 405.

³ *Sic.* Cf. Stow, *Annales of England*, 1592, p. 539: 'This yeere (1409) was a great play at the Skinners Well, neere vnto Clearken well besides London, which lasted 8 daies, & was of matter from the creation of the world: there were to see the same the most part of the nobles and gentles in England'. This Marlowe, who left a son Thomas, was a native of Marlow, Bucks, mentioned in note 1. His will, dated at London, 18 Sept. 1420, spells his name Merlawe, and provides that the residue of his

eight days (saith Stow), to hear which most of the greatest estates of England were present. The subject of the play was sacred Scriptures, from the creation of the world. . . .’ Again, half a dozen years after the dramatist’s death, when opposition to Alleyn’s projected Fortune Theatre was manifesting itself, Anthony Marlowe¹ was third among the signers of an address of the inhabitants of Finsbury to the Privy Council (*ca.* January, 1599–1600), certifying their willingness that the building of a new playhouse by the Earl of Nottingham’s Servants within the lordship of Finsbury ‘might proceed and be tolerated’. This is perhaps the ‘Mr. Marlo’ whose name is affixed to certain holdings of property on an early seventeenth-century plan of the Whitefriars buildings.² To the same London family may presumably be assigned a namesake of the ironmonger mayor, the Richard Marlow who resigned the mastership of the Grammar School in St. Olave’s parish, Southwark, in 1571, and John Marloe, cooper, of the same parish, whose will was proved 12 July, 1611, as well as the Thomas Marlowe who was assessed on property worth four pounds in St. George’s parish, Southwark, in 1596.³

property be devoted to charitable uses in London as well as at ‘Merlawe’, his native place (R. R. Sharpe, *Cal. of Wills . . . Court of Husting*, London, ii, 428).

¹ Cf. Greg, *Henslowe Papers*, p. 51. Anthony Marlow, ‘of the City of London’, and Anne Lawrence, spinster, of St. Lawrence, Jewry, were married by general licence dated 29 Nov. 1578 (Jos. Foster, *London Marriage Licences*, 1521–1869). In 1584 Anthony Marlowe was agent for the Muscovy Company and had signed articles relating to the voyage of Sir Jerome Bowes, late ambassador to Muscovy (*Cal. State Papers, Foreign*, vol. xix, p. 132). He is not to be confused with Anthony Marler, citizen and mercer of London, of St. Botolph next Billingsgate, whose will (dated 6 Apr. 1597) was proved 8 Jan. 1599–1600. Marler left two sons (George and Anthony) and three daughters, and was probably the nephew of Christopher Marler, merchant tailor, whose will is dated 20 Nov. 1576. (For the Morlowes or Morleys of East Smithfield see Chapter III, p. 43.)

² Reproduced in Adams, *Shakespearean Playhouses*, opposite p. 312.

³ Hunter, *Chorus Vatum*, and Wills in Somerset House. John Marlow, or Merlow, of Merton College, Oxford (M.A. 1527, B.D. 1542), was a cleric of some distinction, becoming treasurer of the cathedral of Wells and canon of Westminster (Wood, *Fasti Oxon.*, ed. Bliss, i, 77). John Marloe, Gent., of Bremer, Southants, left a will dated 1584. Elizabeth Marlow, a cousin, is mentioned in the will of Dame Elizabeth Leighton of Highgate, 1619 (J. H. Lea, *Abstracts of Wills*, no. 1287). On the other hand, William

At Bristol a family of Marlowes counted as gentlemen in the early part of the seventeenth century. Among these were Fowke Marloe; his sons, Robert, Richard and Roger; his grandson, Richard Marlowe, curate of St. John Baptist, Bristol¹; and especially Captain Edmund Marlow (another son of Fowke), from whose career it is easy to imagine some affinity to the author of *Tamburlaine*. He commanded the ship *James* of London on the ninth voyage of the Indian Company to the East Indies (1612-15), and died far from home. 'And within some hundred leagues from Bantam, homeward bound,' wrote John Davy, master of the vessel, 'died our Captain, Master Edmund Marlow, an excellent man in the Art of Navigation and all the Mathematics.'²

In Canterbury the family was well established. Simon Morle, a vintner, admitted Freeman of the city 'by redemption' in 1438, appears as a leading citizen in the chamberlain's accounts for the reign of Henry VI. In 1445-6 the corporation paid him four marks for a pipe of red wine given to the aged Cardinal Beaufort on the occasion of his visit to Canterbury at Christmas of the previous year.³ Two years later he and John Sheldwich were reimbursed ten pounds which they had advanced as a present to the young Queen, Margaret of Anjou, 'at the

Marlowe, late of London, yeoman, stole a heifer worth four pounds in 1598, pleaded guilty, asked for the book, and reading like a clerk was marked with the letter T, and delivered in accordance with the statute (Jeaffreson, *Midd. Co. Records*, i, 249).

¹ He was witness to the will of Richard Thomas of Bristol, 18 Nov. 1618 (J. H. Lea, *Abstracts of Wills*, no. 237). He was nephew to Captain Edmund (in whose will he is mentioned), being son of the latter's brother Richard.

² *Hakluytus Posthumus, or Purchas his Pilgrimes*, by Samuel Purchas, 1624, vol. i, 440-444. His will (dated 16 Apr. 1614, proved 22 Sept. 1615) is at Somerset House, as are those of his father and his brother Roger, proved in 1605 and 1618 respectively. (For Edward Marlowe of Clifton near Bristol, who created a diplomatic incident by taking possession of a Danish vessel, cf. *Calendar of State Papers*, 22 Dec. 1593, p. 396 f.)

³ Hist. MSS. Comm., App. to 9th Rept., i, 140: '*Solutum Simoni Morle pro una pipa vini rubei data Domino Cardinali Anglie pro <bona> dominacione sua habenda tempore prime advencionis sue usque Cantuar. in festo Natalis Dni Anno regni regis Hen. VI^{ti} xxiiii^{to} . . . iiii marc*'.

time of her pilgrimage to Canterbury to St. Thomas the Martyr'.¹ In the following reign of Edward IV Thomas Marlow, roper, appears in the city records. He became Freeman by redemption in 1478, and in 1480 his name stands in a list of citizens occupying property belonging to the municipality, his rent being assessed at six shillings and eightpence.²

At this period we hear of the couple who can be plausibly suggested as the great-great-grandparents of the poet: John Marley, or Marle, tanner, and his wife, Katherine.³

In 1514 their son, Richard Marley, of Westgate Street, succeeding to the trade of tanner, was admitted Freeman of the city 'by birth', i.e. as the son of a Freeman.⁴ This Richard Marley inherited or acquired a very considerable amount of property. His will, dated 12 June, 1521, fills six pages and gives much information about his family circumstances. At this time his father, John Marley, had died, but his mother was alive. He left a sister, Margaret, wife of Thomas Colpholl,⁵ which Thomas was named

¹ Hist. MSS. Comm., App. to 9th Rept., i, 140: 'Sol. Joh. Sheldwich et Simoni Morle x li. ab eis mutuatas, et datas Regine Anglie tempore peregrinationis sue usque Cant. ad Sanctum Thomam Martirem'.

² Ibid., p. 133: 'Firma terrarum, tenementorum, et turrium anno r.r. Edwardi iiiii^{ti} xx^o: Tho. Marlow, roper . . . vi^s viii^d'.

³ He is entered on the roll of Freemen by redemption (J. M. Cowper, *Roll of the Freemen of the City of Canterbury*, column 285) as 'Marle, John, of Holy Cross Without, Cant., tanner, 1467'. It is not improbable that he and Thomas and William Morle, both fullers, who likewise became Freemen by redemption in 1459 and 1468 respectively, were all sons of Simon Morle, the vintner. In that case they must have been born before 1438, since children born after their father had become Freeman were entitled to freedom 'by birth'. See next note.

⁴ Cowper, *Roll of Freemen*, column 57, Freemen by Birth: 'Marley, Richard, of Westgatestreet, Cant., tanner, s. of John Marley, tanner. 1514.' The rank of Freeman could be attained at Canterbury in five ways: (i) by Birth; (ii) by Marriage; (iii) by Apprenticeship; (iv) by Redemption (i.e. direct purchase); (v) by Gift. 'The sons of Freemen were admitted at all times without any payment (subject to the proviso that they had been born after their fathers obtained freedom); those who married the daughter of a Freeman usually paid 11³*d.*; and those who had served an apprenticeship paid 4s. 1*d.*' The amount paid by those who purchased freedom directly varied: in a case cited by Cowper as typical (p. viii, 33rd Henry VIII) it was 13s. 4*d.*

⁵ Margaret Marley was Colpholl's second wife. Somner, *Antiq. Cant.*, 1640, p. 338, gives the inscription on her tomb in the church of Westgate Holy Cross: 'Of your charitie pray for the soule of Margaret Colpholl the

co-executor of the will along with the testator's wife, Alice.¹

The main purpose of Richard Marley's long will was to provide for his sole living child, Christopher, who was a minor at the time. On attaining the age of twenty-one years Christopher was to receive—besides the best feather-bed and transon, ten pounds in cash, and other specified personal property—the whole of the lands and tenements, subject only to a life interest in three messuages in Northlane, granted successively to the testator's mother Katherine and his wife Alice. During Christopher's minority the major part of the income of the estate was to be enjoyed by the widow, unless she should marry again, in which event the testator's representatives were to administer it for Christopher's benefit. The landed property mentioned in this will includes, besides the three messuages in Northlane and Richard Marley's tanhouse, his 'principal tenement that I now dwell in' and twenty acres of land 'lying in the parish of St. Stephen's in the county of Kent, the which beareth rent to Sir John Ffyneux, Knight'.²

Christopher Marley, son of Richard, attained his majority and married Joan, the daughter of John Hobbes³; but like his father he was short-lived. On 5 March, 1540, he made his 'will and last testament', describing himself as 'Christopher Marley, tanner, of the parish of Westgate, dwelling within the walls of the City of Canterbury', and desiring to be buried 'in the churchyard aforesaid <Westgate Holy Cross> next unto my father'. He died at an interesting

wife of Thomas Colphall, which Mar. died the first day of March Anno Dom. 1533'. Colpholl married a third wife, a widow, Agnes Fish. His will, dated 1541, mentions only one child, Elinor (probably by his first wife).

¹ Her maiden name seems to have been Brooke, since her husband refers to Thomas Brooke as his 'Brother'.

² Sir John Fyneux, 1441?–1527, Chief Justice of the King's Bench.

³ John Hobbes, butcher, became Freeman by redemption in 1514 (Cowper, *Roll of Freeman*, column 276). He served as one of the executors of Christopher Marley's will, and died in 1546, apparently in straitened circumstances. His will (see Appendix) is unfortunately short and uninformative. He orders his property to be sold to satisfy his debts, and names his son Philip as executor, but does not mention his daughter Joan or any grandchildren.

time, leaving a daughter, Elizabeth, and an unborn child, to whom, 'if it be a man child', he leaves his dwelling house 'and the hanging of the house, the meat table, the best chair, and a house joining to my dwelling house called the Old Hall, with the land longeth thereto'. This was no mean provision by the standards of the time, but the widow received outright the twenty acres of land 'lying in the parish of Hackington,¹ with the house and the meadow together in the said parish', and also apparently, since she was residuary legatee, the tanhouse which had supported the family through three generations. Whether she married one of the two apprentices and three men servants to whom Christopher Marley left legacies we do not know; nor does it seem possible to advance beyond the limits of bare conjecture the intriguing possibility that the unborn child rather carelessly provided for in the will may have been the John who in 1564 became father to another Christopher.²

John Marlowe, Marley, or Marlin—for his name, like that of his son, is spelled in all three ways—appears on the roll of Freemen of the city of Canterbury as a Freeman by Apprenticeship in the signal year 1564:

¹ Evidently the same property that Richard Marley mentions as lying in the parish of St. Stephen's. Hackington was another name for the parish (cf. Somner, *Antiq. Cant.*, p. 87).

² The dates of John Marlowe's marriage, business career, and death agree well with the assumption that he was born in 1540. Since he was still active in business in 1604, it is not likely that he was born much earlier. Of the numerous Canterbury churches only St. George's has a register that goes back of Queen Elizabeth's accession, and that begins in 1538. It does not record the baptism of John Marlowe, but under the year 1548 it has the following entry: 'The 28th day of December was christened Marget the daughter of John Marlow'. (There was also a Thomas Marlowe in the parish, whose son Simon was buried 10 Dec. 1566.) It is quite possible that the poet's father was the brother of this Marget and had been baptized just before the period at which the extant register begins; but the fact that he was married in the parish and subsequently resided there is, of course, no warrant that he was born there. There is one slight reference in the Canterbury city records for 1523-4 to a John Marlen, mattress-maker, who may conceivably have been connected with the poet's family. In the accounts of the 'Intrantes', persons admitted to live and trade within the city on payment of an annual fine, he is credited with a payment of twopence for a half-quarter of the year mentioned. Both the period and the sum paid are the smallest recorded, and as there is no further mention of him in these documents one would naturally conclude that he was a transient (J. M. Cowper, *Intrantes*, column 184).

'Marlyn, John, shoemaker, was admitted and sworn to the liberties of this city, for the which he paid but 4s. 1*d*. because he was enrolled within this city according to the customs of the same. 1564.'¹ He was already married and the father of two children. The register of the church of St. George the Martyr contains the record :

'Anno Dni 1561 . . . The 22nd day of May were married John Marlow and Catherine Arthur.'²

Children of this marriage were baptized at St. George's, according to the church register and the archdeacon's transcripts preserved in the cathedral :

May 21, 1562. Mary, the daughter of John Marlowe.

Feb. 26, 1563-4. Christofer, the son of John Marlow.³

{ Dec. 11, 1565. Margarit, the daughter of John Marloe⁴
<Register only>.

{ Dec. 18, 1566. Marget, daughter of John Marlo <Transcript only>⁵

¹ Cowper, *Roll of Freeman*, column 212. This is a quite regular entry of freedom by apprenticeship, except that it does not specify the name of the man to whom John Marlowe had been apprenticed, as was usually done. If the son of Christopher Marley, he might be supposed entitled to freedom by birth ; but Christopher—unlike his father and grandfather—does not appear to have become a Freeman in formal manner : his name is not found in the roll.

² Catherine Arthur was probably the daughter of the Reverend Christopher Arthur, rector of St. Peter's, Canterbury, 1550-1552 (Cowper, *Our Parish Books*, ii, 112). He may be the same as 'father Auter', the 'honest priest' named in Thomas Colpholl's will (1541) to say masses for the latter's soul in St. Alphege's church. Ingram conjectures that he was ejected from St. Peter's on Mary's accession because he had married.

³ 'The 26th day of february was Christened Christofer the sonne of John Marlow.'

⁴ 'At the first glance this looks like Marley, but a pen has been drawn through the final *e*. The last syllable, *loe*, is in a paler ink. "John" has been written over an erasure. "Will'm" was first written' (Cowper, *Register of St. George's, Canterbury*, p. 11).

⁵ These evidently refer to the same child, one of the dates being erroneous. Such discrepancies are rather common : five consecutive marriage entries, from 28 May to 17 Sept., assigned to 1576 in the transcript, are entered under the corresponding dates in 1577 in the register. As Dyce, who first printed these records in part, remarked, the register of St. George's Church is not for this period the original, but a copy. The heading reads : 'A true copie so neere as may be taken out of the olde Register booke of the parish of St. George within the Citie of Canterburie, from the 30th yeere of the Reigne of our Sovereigne Lorde King Henry the eight, Anno dni 1538 and so forth, of Christenings Mariages and Burials'. On the preceding fly-leaf, under date Anno 1599, we read : 'The Minister and Church Wardens

Oct. 31, 1568. —, the son of John Marlow (spelled *Marle* in Transcript).

Aug. 20, 1569. John, the son of John Marlow.

July 26, 1570. Thomas, son of John Marle.

July 14, 1571. An, daughter of John Marle.

October 18, 1573. Daretye, daughter of John Marlye.

Burial notices refer to an unnamed daughter of John Marlow (28 Aug. 1568)—probably Mary, the eldest child, of whom nothing more is heard; an unnamed son (5 Nov. 1568)¹—doubtless the child who was christened only a week before and whose name was paradoxically forgotten by the recorder; and Thomas (7 Aug. 1570), who likewise died within a fortnight of his baptism. I suspect that the baptismal entry in 1569 of 'John, the son of John Marlow', is a clerical error for Jane or Joan (commonly spelled Johan), the daughter. There is nothing to indicate that the poet had a brother John, but his sister Joan, whose baptism is not otherwise recorded, grew up and will be referred to later.

Shortly after the christening of Dorothy in 1573, when Christopher was about ten years old, the Marlowe family removed from the eastern parish of St. George's to settle in the heart of Canterbury, in St. Andrew's parish, where on 8 April, 1576, was baptized the last of John Marlowe's children,

'Thomas Marley, the son of John.'²

The removal suggests increased business prosperity and is connected with a somewhat responsible avocation that John

of the parrish of St. George within the cittie of Canterburye finding Certain Records of Christnings, mariages and burials, bearinge date from the yeare of oure lorde 1538 . . . haue thoughte it necesarie to Coppye oute the same, and so to proceed, acordinge to the statute in that behalf prouided, but findinge the saide records (some of them) Vnperfectly Wrotten, and confuzedlye bound together, they could not so orderly proceade as they desired'.

¹ The date given is that of the archdeacon's transcript; the register has 5 Nov. 1567, which seems certainly wrong.

² The entries from the registers of St. Andrew's and St. Mary Bredman in this chapter have not been previously published. They have been kindly supplied by the Rev. A. A. Carter, Rector of St. Margaret's, Canterbury, who has the manuscript records of the other two churches in his charge.

Marlowe took up at about the same time : that of acting as bondsman, for a consideration, in behalf of couples seeking marriage licences. On 28 April, 1579, he first appears as surety on a marriage bond, being referred to as ' John Marley of St. Andrew's, Cant., shoemaker '. From this time till 11 August, 1604, he acted eighteen times as bondsman according to the extant licences.¹ In these documents his surname is given fifteen times as Marlowe, Marlow, or Marloe, twice as Marley, and once as Marlyn. Only in the first is his parish residence indicated ; in the rest he is described, as if well known, ' of Cant., shoemaker '.

Marlowe's boyhood was spent in a house virtually without brothers,² but with four sisters, from two to nearly ten years younger than he. They were still living in St. Andrew's parish when Christopher went to Cambridge, and in his second year at the university his sister Joan was married to John Moore, a Canterbury shoemaker, very likely one of her father's apprentices. The register of St. Andrew's records that on 22 April, 1582, ' were married John More and Jayne Marlowe ', and the match is further attested by a pair of adjacent entries in the city roster of Freemen admitted by marriage :

' Moore, John, shoemaker = Jane, d. of John Marley, shoemaker. 1583.'

' Moore, John, shoemaker = Joan, d. of John Marloe, shoemaker. 1585.'³

¹ J. M. Cowper, *Canterbury Marriage Licences, 1568-1618*.

² I do not know how long the last child, Thomas the second, survived, but he would have been less than five years old when the poet went to Cambridge ; he presumably had died when his parents made their wills, since there is no mention of him. The George Marly who married Jane Baldock at St. Andrew's, 9 Apr. 1629, probably came from another parish and a different branch of the family.

³ Cowper, *Roll of Freemen*, column 139. Jane and Joan are, of course, the same. I cannot explain the duplication of this item, unless the youthfulness of the couple made the first entry invalid. Joan, who seems to have married at thirteen, was probably the Joan Moore buried at St. Mary Magdalen, Canterbury, 19 Aug. 1598. She was certainly dead when her mother made her will in 1606. John Moore, who was bequeathed forty shillings and a joint-press by his mother-in-law, may have been the son of John More and his wife Ellen, who ' died a childe-bed ' and was buried at St. Alphege, 18 June, 1564. This suggests that Moore may have become

Shortly after this John Marlowe changed his residence again, to a house in the parish of St. Mary Bredman, and there took upon him the respectable office of parish clerk which he held until his death. The removal from St. Andrew's, which may have been prompted by desire for more house room, cannot have been a matter of many rods, for both parishes were small and their churches stood very close together in the busy centre of the city, midway between St. George's by the eastern gate and Westgate Holy Cross, where the earlier Marleys had resided.¹ The Register of St. Mary Bredman records the marriage of each of the poet's remaining sisters :

15th June, 1590, were married John Jordan and Margaret Marlowe ;

10th June, 1593, were married John Crawford and Ann Marlowe ;²

30th June, 1594, were married Thomas Craddell and Dorothy Marl—.³

John Jordan, or Jurden, tailor, a member of a large and influential Canterbury family, took out his freedom by redemption in 1590. The city records note the admission of John Crawford, shoemaker, as Freeman by marriage in 1594, as husband of 'Ann, daughter of John Marlowe, shoemaker' ; and in the same year of Thomas Cradwell, or

twenty-one only in 1585 when the second entry of freedom was made. I do not know whether he is the John More of Cant., Gent., who acted as bondsman, 8 Dec. 1597, at the marriage of Henry Ingeham and Jane Moore of Dover, or the John Moore of St. Peter's, Cant., who married Joan Sare of St. Mary Bredman's, 8 Feb. 1618 (Cowper, *Cant. Marriage Licences*, 230, 291).

¹ Somner, *Antiquities of Canterbury*, 1640, p. 329, speaks of the centre of the city, 'where the 4 wayes meet at S. Andrews-Church, of old called Andresgate, to say, Andrews-gate'. St. Mary Bredman, as he observes, is very near and was anciently called Ecclesia S. Mariae de Andresgate. This last church, like St. George's, was tributary to the cathedral, but it paid a much smaller annual offering : 'S. George, S. Mary Bredman, and S. Peter anciently were, as they still are, of the patronage of Christ-Church . . . and every one of them anciently paid to it a several annual pension, as S. George 5^s, S. Mary Bredman 6^d, S. Peter 6^s. 8^d.' (ibid., 328-9).

² The news of Christopher's death and burial was very fresh when this wedding occurred—if any news was sent.

³ The last letters are indecipherable.

Gradwell, vintner, as husband of 'Dorothy, d. of John Marlowe, shoemaker'.¹

In 1606, when his mother made her will, the number of our hero's nieces and nephews included John, William, and Elizabeth Jordan, Anthony, John, and Elizabeth Crawford, and John Cradwell. In each of the Jordan, Crawford, and Cradwell families, one notes, the family name of John had been continued; in none that of Christopher.²

In 1593, the year of Kit's death, tragedy came in another form into the Marlowe family. Plague was rampant in Canterbury as in London,³ and at the close of the summer it all but completely wiped out the household of John Marlowe's brother-in-law, Thomas Arthur (the poet's uncle). The list of burials in St. Dunstan's Church tells the story:

Aug. 17. Thomas Arthur, householder.

Aug. 29. Joan Arthur, a child.

Sept. 6. Elizabeth Arthur, a child.

Sept. 7. William Arthur, a child.

Sept. 13. Ursula Arthur, wife of Thomas.

Sept. 14. Daniel Arthur, a child.⁴

One child, Dorothy, escaped and came under the roof of her aunt, Catherine Marlowe. Her position was probably

¹ Cowper, *Roll of Freemen*, columns 112, 327.

² Another Jordan nephew of the poet was baptized at St. Mary Bredman's, 13 Dec. 1607: 'James, the sonne of John Jordan'. John Cradwell was entered in the roll of freemen by birth in 1624: 'Gradwell, John, yeoman, s. of Thomas Gradwell, innholder.' An Anne Cradwell was buried at Holy Cross in 1675 (Cowper, *Our Parish Books*, ii, 69). Several persons of the same surname figure in the history of the London stage. Henry Gradwell was a member of the Prince's Company in the seventeenth century, and Richard Gradwell, Player, had two children baptized at St. Giles, Cripplegate, in 1632-34 (G. E. Bentley, 'New Actors of the Elizabethan Period', *Modern Language Notes*, June, 1929, p. 372).

³ Note the following from the accounts of the city chamberlain of Canterbury (Hist. MSS. Comm., App. to 9th Rept., i, 159^a):

(1592-3) 'To Goodman Ledes watchyng at Anthony Howes dore . . . when his house was first infected with the plague.'

(1593-4) Twenty pounds, being a legacy left by Chief Baron Manwood, were appropriated to the relief of poor people attacked by the plague and a voluntary subscription was made to assist them.

⁴ Register of St. Dunstan's, Cant., ed. J. M. Cowper, p. 113. 'Joane, d. of Thomas Arter', had been christened at St. Alphege's, 23 Jan. 1585-6; 'Daniell, son of Thomas Arthur', at St. Dunstan's, 19 Mar. 1587-8; 'Elysabeth Arthure', at St. Mary Magd., 26 June, 1590.

ambiguous, part guest and part handmaiden, but she had a little property and other relatives in Canterbury. So when herself stricken with mortal illness on 21 August, 1597, she made an oral, or nuncupative, will, the draft of which describes her as 'Dorothy Arthur of the parish of St. Mary Bredman in the city of Canterbury . . . lying sick in the house of John Marley of the said parish'. Being demanded who should have all her goods if it should please God to call her, she said 'that she gave all that she had unto her said aunt, Catherine Marley', specifically excluding her Aunt Barton, 'the wife of Salomon Barton of Canterbury',¹ who was aunt unto the said Dorothy by the mother's side, as the said Catherine Marley was by the father's side'. Six days later the poet's mother, who did not lack what the Wife of Bath calls 'purveyaunce', presented the will for probate. The day before (26 Aug.) 'Dorothy Arthur, *ancilla*',² had joined the other members of her family in the burying ground of St. Dunstan's.

From this testament and from those of John and Catherine Marlowe one gets on the whole an agreeable impression of the household in which Christopher had grown up. Nearly a dozen years after his son's death, on 23 January, 1604-5, John dictated his brief will,³ signed with his mark, in which he asks to be buried in the churchyard of the parish of St. George within Canterbury and leaves his temporal goods 'wholly to my wife Katherine, whom I make my sole

¹ Solomon Barton, trugger, or pailmaker, was an 'intrans' or alien admitted to trade in Canterbury, dwelling in Northgate ward. In this capacity he paid the city 18*d.* for three quarters of the year 1597-8, and signed a marriage licence bond, 15 Feb. 1597 (Cowper, *Intrans*, column 238; *Cant. Mar. Lic.*, 428).

² Cowper, Register of St. Dunstan's, 113. The word 'ancilla' was added in the transcript sent to the archdeacon.

³ The writer of the will was James Bissell, married at St. Alphege's, 8 Aug. 1592, as 'Mynyster of the p'ishe of St. Marye Bredman'. He was also, from 1594, curate of St. Peter's. The other two witnesses were very respectable citizens: Vincent Huffam, clerk, the tomb of whose daughter Frances (d. 7 Apr. 1605) still exists in St. Peter's Church (Cowper, *Reg. of S. Peter's*, xxiv, & 124); and Thomas Pleasington, baker, Freeman of the city since 1575. Roger Dickenson, shoemaker, acquired his freedom in 1604 by marrying the latter's daughter, Em.

executrix'. He died within a couple of days and was interred as he desired, the entry in the parish register of St. George's reading, 'John Marloe, clerk of St. Mary's, was buried the 26th of January'.

A little over a year later (17 March, 1605-6) the widow employed a scrivener of St. Dunstan's parish, Thomas Hudson, to write down her own long and interesting will, disposing of a considerable amount of personal property,¹ most of which is divided equitably between her three surviving daughters: Margaret Jordan, Ann Crawford, and Dorothy Cradwell. She leaves a rather handsome remembrance to John Moore, the widower of Joan Marlowe, and mentions by name seven grandchildren, to each of whom she bequeaths silver spoons. Her 'son Crawford' is made executor and residuary legatee.² Like her husband she signs with her mark, as do also her maid, Mary May, and Goodwife Sarah Morrice, the witnesses. Though her request was 'to be buried in the churchyard of St. George's in Canterbury near wheras my husband John Marlowe was buried', no record of her burial has yet been found.³

¹ No real property is mentioned in her will or in her husband's.

² Presumably because he was a shoemaker and would naturally inherit John Marlowe's business and stock-in-trade. (For the full text of all these wills see Appendixes, pp. 83-96.)

³ There is none at St. George's or St. Mary Bredman, or in any of the other available Canterbury registers. An entry in the burial register of St. Alphege's (Cowper, p. 207), '1608 Dec. 5 Marlin, his wiffe, was buried', cannot refer to Catherine unless the date is seriously incorrect, for her will was proved 22 July, '1605' (*sic*. '1606' must be intended). There were other Marlowes, Marleys, and Marlins in Canterbury, though not a great many. At St. Dunstan's Sara Marelin (whom the transcript calls Stace Marlyn) was buried 21 Feb. 1570-71, and Margery Marley, alias Stace, widow, 22 Mar. 1596-7; Wm. Marlowe, 12 May, 1605; and Alice Marlowe, 10 June of the same year. A countryman, Richard Marley or Marlow of St. Nicholas Atwade, yeoman, twice took out a marriage licence (10 Feb. 1612, 15 July, 1616). The name recurs sporadically in later Canterbury records. Ann Marloe married Thomas Baldock at St. Mary Magd., 23 Dec. 1658. At St. Paul's Jeffery Marloe was married, 13 June, 1654; Sarah Marley, 12 Nov. 1668; and Hanna Marlow, 14 Oct. 1669. At St. Alphege Richard Marlow was married, 21 Jan. 1708-9, and Elisabeth Marlow, 3 June, 1799. John Marlow married Elizabeth Cunstable at St. Peter's, 18 May, 1741; they had nine children, of whom four were successively named John, three dying in extreme infancy. But the name is not of frequent occurrence.

Arthur Symons (*Athenæum*, 18 Aug. 1906) called attention to two re-

The name Christopher was notably common in Canterbury at the time of the dramatist's birth. His namesake, Christopher Marley, who died in 1540, has been mentioned, as well as his maternal grandfather (?), Christopher Arthur.¹ The register of St. George's Church for the year 1564 mentions Christofer Lewes, Christofer Digges, and Christofer Bird, all fathers of children baptized a few months after Marlowe. In pre-Protestant times the church had contained an image of St. Christopher, as is shown by the record of burial of William Barnes in 1546: 'July 9 Guliel. Barnes, et sepultus est in ecclesia coram imagine S'cti Christoferi'.² When Marlowe went to the King's School, he had as companions Christopher Duckett and Christopher Stretley; and when he went to Cambridge he succeeded Christopher Pashley as Canterbury Scholar at Corpus Christi. In 1591 the mayor of Canterbury was Christopher Leeds.³

Of the poet's childhood there is very little record. We may be sure that it was less cramped than the phrase, 'cobbler's son', would now imply. Marlowe was born, like Shakespeare, into the important leather-working branch of the old English guild system; but John Shakespeare was the citizen of a mean town in comparison with John Marlowe, who in point of fact seems to have been a prosperous burgher,

markable entries in the baptismal register of St. James's Church, Westminster: William Marlow, son of Christopher and Mary, born 2 Mar. 1709; Jane Marlow, daughter of Xofer and Barbara, born 21 Sept. 1709—and observed: 'It is safe to assume that in the year 1709 no name in English literature was more completely forgotten than that of Christopher Marlowe, and that no Marlowe, therefore, not connected with his family was likely to choose so uncommon a name as Christopher (which I found only a few times in the registers of fifty years). Yet here are two fathers of families, at exactly the same time, both called Christopher Marlow.' I cannot account for the coincidence, unless they were descendants of the Christopher Marler of London, mentioned on p. 2, note 1. There seems to have been no Marlowe named Christopher at Canterbury after 1593; but see next note.

¹ Ingram, *Marlowe and his Associates*, p. 13, on the authority of 'MS. particulars furnished by Mr. A. Hussey', asserts that there was another Christopher Marlowe 'of this district' (i.e. Canterbury?) who was presented to the Archbishop for some breach of morality, and who lived into the seventeenth century and left two daughters. I have not been able to trace him.

² Cowper, *Register of St. George's*, 168.

³ Somner, *Antiq. Cant.*, 1640, p. 374.

maintaining respectable apprentices,¹ marrying his daughters well, and ultimately leaving a comfortable amount of property and an admirable civic record.² The reputed birth-house in St. George's Street was a good dwelling in its day. If we wish to guess at the economic and social circumstances of Marlowe's boyhood, as he grew up in the house of a master of the craft of shoemakers and freeman of the city of Canterbury, we shall do much better to qualify a little the exuberant picture of Simon Eyre's household in Dekker's *Shoemaker's Holiday* than to harrow ourselves with modern conceptions of a squalid garret and hand-to-mouth existence.

The lives of Marlowe's parents indicate that he was brought up in the odour of conventional piety and domestic tranquillity, and the conditions of his residence at Cambridge imply that he was twenty-two years old before he finally renounced the clerical career for which he had evidently been destined. It is easy to ascribe the Gothic gorgeousness of his fancy to the atmosphere of his natal city, with its rich architecture and hierarchical ecclesiasticism, its mediaeval pageantry and surviving Corpus Christi plays, its bull-baitings and civic stateliness. But Marlowe's absorption of these influences is really less significant than his reaction

¹ Elias Martin, shoemaker, apprenticed to John Marloe, took out his freedom by apprenticeship in 1583. In the flurry of pre-Armada military preparations the Canterbury chamberlain's accounts note a payment 'To Elyas Martyn for ii. calves skynnes for a case for the drommes and making the same' (Hist. MSS. Comm., App. to 9th Rept., i, 158^a). The register of St. Alphege records the baptism of daughters of Elias Martin, 1 Jan. 1605-6, and 17 June, 1610, and the burial of (9 Jan. 1611-12) 'Margerie, wyffe of Elias Martyne', (1 May, 1614) 'Rebecca, d. of Elias Martyne', and (6 Sept. 1614) Elias Martyn himself.

William Hewes, apprenticed to John Marloe, shoemaker, became freeman by apprenticeship in 1593. He married Christian Bishop on 19 Nov. of the same year at the church of St. Mary Magdalene, and later lived, like Martin, in the parish of St. Alphege. Benet, 'daughter of William Hewes, shoemaker', was buried at the last church 15 Nov. 1598, and Thomas, son of William Hewes, 5 Dec. 1602.

² Ingram (p. 130) refers, without further details, to a manuscript muster roll of the Armada period in which the name of John Marlowe figures as that of a bowman; and also to 'one of the burgher manuscript records' of 1588 that mentions a loan of five pounds repaid by Henry Carre, 'out of Streeter's legacy, which Marley the shoemaker had and delivered in at Candlemas. No. XXX. R. Eliz.'

against them. Temperamentally he was less like Chatterton than has been supposed. Familiarity with the ornate traditionalism of Canterbury ended by breeding in him a contempt, an iconoclastic intellectualism and modernist self-dependence. It is likely enough that these radical impulses were hardly recognizable even to himself till near the close of his life at Cambridge, and I think he had passed well beyond their frothier manifestations before his death ; but they were doubtless deeply rooted and connect themselves in his poetry with a rather wilful blindness to the obvious beauties of the Canterbury scene. Strange that one who had dreamed away his childhood under the great Cathedral should have nothing to say of ' storied windows richly dight ', should recur with such ruthlessness to the idea of burning topless towers, of firing crazed buildings, and enforcing ' the papal towers to kiss the holy earth '.¹

Late in his boyhood, when just under fifteen years of age, Marlowe was admitted to one of the fifty scholarships maintained by the King's School, Canterbury. Concerning his earlier education we have no information. It was presumably obtained at one of those parochial schools, kept by the parson or by a pedagogue leagued with him in office, whose absurd discipline and casual methods so delighted the Elizabethan comic writers.

When Henry VIII replaced the monks of Canterbury, in 1541, by a new collegiate body that was henceforth to control the Cathedral and its revenues, his charter of incorporation provided for ' two public teachers of the boys in grammar ' and for ' fifty boys to be instructed in grammar '. The twenty-seventh Cathedral Statute rehearses :

' . . . we do appoint and ordain that by the election and appointment of the Dean and Chapter, or in the Dean's absence, of the Vice-Dean and Chapter, there be always in our Church of Canter-

¹ If we are to believe Richard Baines, Marlowe was prone to defend ' papistic ' ceremonial in his private talk.

bury fifty poor boys, both destitute of the help of friends,¹ and endowed with minds apt for learning, who shall be called scholars of the grammar school, and shall be sustained out of the funds of our Church conformably with the limitations of our statutes : whom nevertheless we will not have to be admitted as students before they have learned to read and write and are moderately versed in the first rudiments of grammar, and this in the judgment of the Dean and Head Master, or in the Dean's absence, of the Vice Dean and Head Master. And we will that these boys be maintained at the expense of our Church until they have obtained a moderate acquaintance with the Latin grammar, and have learned to speak in Latin and write in Latin ; for which object they shall be allowed the space of four years, or (if to the Dean and Head Master, or, in the Dean's absence, to the Vice Dean and Head Master it shall seem good) at most to five years and no more. Also we will that no one be elected as a poor scholar of our grammar school who has not completed the ninth year of his age, or who hath exceeded the fifteenth year of his age.'

The statutes of Henry VIII provide that the school exercises shall begin at six a.m. with responsive repetition of a psalm and conclude in the same manner at five p.m. Statute no. 30 makes provision for the common table, at which all non-capitular members of the cathedral were to dine daily. Three tables were constituted, the third to be occupied by the fifty King's scholars and ten chorister boys. Statute 31 stipulates that each member of the foundation is to be provided with cloth for a new gown every Christmas, a scholar to have $2\frac{1}{2}$ yards of a quality worth three shillings and fourpence a yard. 'As a matter of fact', however,² 'the allowances for both "commons" and gowns were from the earliest times added to the statutable stipends, which

¹ The requirement of poverty was evidently not strictly enforced. At the very start Archbishop Cranmer had to contend against a movement to restrict the scholarships to 'gentlemen's sons' to the exclusion of poorer boys. Cranmer's very moderate attitude is summed up in the words : 'Wherefore, if the gentleman's son be apt to learning, let him be admitted ; if not apt, let the poor man's child apt (*sic*) enter his room' (Strype, *Memorials of Cranmer*, i, p. 127 ; Woodruff and Cape, *History of Canterbury School*, 1908, p. 50 f.).

² Woodruff and Cape, *op. cit.*, p. 53.

in the case of the King's scholars amounted to 1*l.* 8*s.* 4*d.* a year. So that the yearly sum paid by the treasurer to each scholar was four pounds.' ¹

The King's School has always been in the precincts of the Cathedral, and since the first year of Queen Elizabeth's reign it has been situated in that section known as the 'mint yard', suffering one slight change of position, in 1573, from the 'North Hall' to the Almonry Buildings on the south side of the Mint Yard. The head master from 1561 till 1565 was Anthony Rushe, to whom the chapter paid in 1562-63 the large sum of 14*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* 'for rewards given him at setting out of his plays at Christmas'.² Rushe was succeeded by John Gresshop, M.A., of Christ Church, Oxford, who was near the end of his head mastership (1566-80) when Marlowe entered the school.³ The next head master (1580-84) was Nicholas Goldsborough, a recent graduate of Queens' College, Cambridge (M.A., 1577), who in 1578 had held the post of sacrist at Corpus Christi College, Oxford. He was Vicar of Linsted, Kent, 1585-89, and lived till 1610.⁴

The Treasurer of the Cathedral during this period was John King, a bundle of whose accounts for the twenty-first year of Elizabeth's reign, 1578-79, is fortunately preserved in the Cathedral Library.⁵ These give for each of the four quarters of the school year the names of the fifty boys who received the quarterly allowance of one pound each and certify Marlowe's status as a King's (or, as it was then termed, Queen's) Scholar. The following tabulation, made up from the four terminal lists, gives in alphabetical order the names of Marlowe and his schoolfellows and shows for what part of the year each held his scholarship.

¹ The total is made up by calculating the allowance in place of commons at tenpence a week (£2 3*s.* 4*d.* per annum).

² Woodruff and Cape, p. 79.

³ Ibid., p. 84: 'Nothing is known about him personally.'

⁴ Venn, *Alumni Cantabrigienses*. Goldsborough's successor as vicar of Linsted was Christopher Pashley, whose scholarship at Cambridge Marlowe succeeded to. See next chapter, p. 22, note 2.

⁵ Facsimile in Ingram, *Christopher Marlowe and his Associates*, p. 33.

CANTERBURY

19

NAME.

RANK IN TREASURER'S LISTS, 1578-79.

1st Term. 2nd Term. 3rd Term. 4th Term.

Beseley, Bartholomew . . .	—	—	—	46
Betham, Richard . . .	7	7	5	2
Blundell, Roger . . .	46	48	44	41
Bolton, William . . .	26	25	36	20
Bradford, Edwin . . .	5	5	3	—
Bromerick, Henry . . .	25	24	35	19
Bull, Nathaniel . . .	—	—	—	49
Clarke, Isaac . . .	17	16	14	10
Clifford, Alexander . . .	49	4	50	43
Colwell, Thomas . . .	44	44	41	38
Drewry, Henry . . .	34	33	47	28
Duckett, Christopher . . .	18	17	15	11
Elmyston, Nicholas . . .	28	26	37	21
Emtley, John . . .	4	—	—	—
Gilbert, Jesse . . .	36	36	30	31
Godwin, Bartholomew . . .	50	21	19	15
Groves, Ralph . . .	10	9	8	—
Groves, Robert . . .	12	11	9	5
Gwyn, John . . .	—	—	46	44
Hammond, Thomas . . .	45	46	43	40
Hawkes, George . . .	2	2	1	—
Jacob, Henry . . .	32	31	26	26
Kemesley, Sidrac . . .	11	12	11	6
Kennett, Samuel . . .	9	10	7	3
Kevell, Bartholomew . . .	22	38	32	16
Lewknor, Richard . . .	29	28	23	23
Lovelace, Henry . . .	21	20	18	14
Lyllye, William . . .	41	41	38	35
Marley, Christopher . . .	—	47	48	45
Marshall, John . . .	19	18	16	12
Nevinson, Stephen . . .	8	8	6	4
Olyver, Peter . . .	42	42	39	36
Parker, Nicholas . . .	1	1	49	—
Partridge, Edward . . .	20	19	17	13
Perrott, Clement . . .	39	39	33	33
Perrott, Richard . . .	14	14	12	8
Playfer, William . . .	13	13	10	7
Playse, William . . .	31	30	25	25
Potter, William . . .	33	32	27	27
Pownall, Barnabe . . .	—	—	—	47

NAME.	RANK IN TREASURER'S LISTS, 1578-79.			
	1st Term.	2nd Term.	3rd Term.	4th Term.
Pownall, Philemon . . .	3	3	2	—
Purefey, Richard . . .	38	37	31	32
Reader, Richard . . .	30	29	24	24
Reynarde, John . . .	—	—	—	48
Russell, Thomas . . .	6	6	4	1
Scott, Richard . . .	37	35	29	30
Smith, Caleb . . .	40	40	34	34
Snow, Josie . . .	16	15	13	9
Stafferton, Reginald . .	23	22	29	17
Stales, Thomas . . .	15	50	—	—
Stretley, Christopher . .	43	43	40	37
Sweting, Leonard . . .	27	27	22	22
Taylor, Thomas . . .	24	23	21	18
White, Samuel . . .	—	—	—	50
Wilder, Nicholas . . .	48	45	42	39
Wilford, John . . .	47	49	45	42
Wyn, Thomas . . .	35	34	28	29

It will be seen that the number of fifty scholars prescribed by the statute of Henry VIII was maintained throughout the year 1578-79, vacancies being filled as they arose by new scholars. Thus in the second term Marlowe's name appears for the first time, filling the gap caused by the withdrawal of John Emtley, who was fourth on the list for the first term. In the third term John Gwyn succeeded Thomas Stales, and in the last five new scholars (Bartholomew Beseley, Nathaniel Bull, Barnabe Pownall, John Reynarde, and Samuel White) replaced Edwin Bradford, Ralph Groves, George Hawkes, Nicholas Parker, and Philemon Pownall.

The charter of the school stipulated, as we have seen, that scholars must be between the ages of nine and fifteen when elected and that they might retain their scholarships for four, or at most five, years. Marlowe received his at the latest legal age, and had actually passed his fifteenth birthday at the time he was paid two of the three terminal stipends recorded. Unfortunately, the Treasurer's accounts of payments for the next year (1579-80) have not been found ;

nor is there any other mention of the future poet till he appears at Cambridge nearly eighteen months later. Since, however, he held at the University a scholarship that was to be filled from the Canterbury School, it can be assumed that he continued at the latter institution for the whole of the academic year 1579-80 and the Michaelmas or autumn term of 1580. That he ultimately secured the most recently founded of the Parker scholarships, connecting the King's School with Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, is evidence enough that he had given satisfaction to his preceptors at Canterbury, but his age at the time—just seventeen—indicates that he cannot have been accused of precocity.

CHAPTER II

CAMBRIDGE

THE Cambridge University Matriculation Book records Marlowe's matriculation, 17 March, 1581, as a member of Corpus Christi College: '*Collegio Corporis Xristi. Chröf. Marlen*'.¹ He is here entered in the *convictus secundus*, or second rank of students, intermediate between the fellow-commoners and the sizars. During his first term (Lent, 1581) he ranked as a pensioner, and his name, written simply 'Marlin', appears in the *Corpus Registrum Parvum* in the number of 'Pensionarii in scholarium commeatu', being the twenty-seventh of the twenty-eight entries for the year 1580 (i.e. admitted prior to 25 March, 1581). He was, however, already receiving the stipend of a scholar of the college, and in the next (Easter) term was regularly elected to his scholarship: 'Marlin electus et admissus in locum domini Pashly'.² He duly

¹ Marlowe's matriculation must have followed close upon his arrival in Cambridge, for the authorities had, only two years before, in 1579, put into effect a rigid decree to this end: 'And therefore it is by the authority aforesaid ordered and decreed, that every person hereafter coming to the University for study shall within six days next and immediately following his first coming to the town repair and come unto the register of the said University for the time being, or to his deputy in the absence of the said register, and cause his name to be enrolled . . . and then at the next matriculation, which shall be kept the first day of every month, if it be not holiday, and then the next working day following, shall be presented to the vice-chancellor for the time being, and then and there take his oath and pay his ordinary. . . . And if any person neglect or refuse to come within the time afore limited to have his name enrolled, then such person, until he be enrolled, not to be reputed as a scholar; neither his time or years to be accounted as available toward the taking of the degree aforesaid; and the tutor of any such person or scholar to forfeit and pay to the use of the University 6s. 8d. . . .' (Heywood and Wright, *Cambridge Transactions during the Puritan Period*, 221 f.).

² This is the fourth of a group of six similar admissions, to the first of which is attached the date, 7 May, and to the last, 11 May. Christopher Pashley, Marlowe's predecessor, matriculated—likewise as pensioner from

paid the customary scholar's admission fee of three shillings and fourpence. The college *Audits* for the year 1580-81 acknowledge the receipt: 'Pro introitu in Convictum *Magistri et Sociorum et Scholarium* . . . Marlin iijs. iiij*d*.'

Marlowe's status at Cambridge was thus from the start relatively advantageous and distinguished. Spenser, Greene, and Nashe all belonged to the less-favoured class of sizars. A manuscript list of Cambridge students in Marlowe's first Michaelmas term—i.e. at the opening of his second academic year—records him under the name of Merling as a student of dialectic.¹ It is entitled '*Nomina Professorum et Auditorum omnium Artium et Scientiarum in Universitate Cantabrigia. Anno regni Elizabethæ vicesimo tertio, 29^o die Octobris Anno Domini 1581*'. The students of each professor are grouped together by colleges, and the 'auditores' of 'Professor Latinae Dialecticae Mr. Johnes' include thirty-one from Corpus Christi College, of whom the twenty-ninth is 'Merling'.²

Corpus Christi—at Easter, 1575; B.A., 1578-79; M.A., 1582. He was ordained priest, 21 Dec. 1580, aged 24; was vicar of Linsted, Kent, 1589-1612, and vicar of Teynham, 1604-12, dying in the last year (Venn, *Alumni Cantab.*). He was doubtless the clergyman referred to in a memorandum by the vicar of St. Dunstan's, Canterbury (Cowper, Reg. of S. Dunstan's, p. ii), 'The 15 of December, 1601, did preach in my parish Mr. Pashley'; and it is presumably his daughter's marriage licence for which he was named as bondsman (Cant. Mar. Lic., 188): 'Gurner, John of Throwley, yeoman, & Ann Pashley of Lynstead, *virgin*. At Hackington. Christopher Pashley of Lynstead, clerk, bonds. May 8, 1605.' His parents were probably John Pashley, tailor (freeman by gift, 1580) and Alice Watson, who were married at St. George's, 29 Apr. 1548. John Pashley was parish clerk of St. George's, as John Marlowe was of St. Mary Bredman's, and was buried just a year earlier than the latter in the same churchyard; cf. burial register of St. George's, 6 Feb. 1603-04: 'John Pashly, sometime parish clarke of this parish'.

¹ The manuscript, discovered by Professor Moore Smith, is in the British Museum: Lansdowne 33, document 43, fol. 84 ff. The sixth of the Cambridge University Statutes, as revised in 1570, gives the rough requirements for the degree of Bachelor of Arts. The first year the student is to learn rhetoric, the second and third dialectic, the fourth philosophy. The statute continues: 'Quae si perfecerit, et post consuetum examen dignus videatur, post completum quadriennium, et non antea, baccalaureus esto'. (For the interpretation of this statute see later, page 29.)

² Marlowe's room-mates, Thexton, Munday, and Leugare, appear likewise in this group. The grand total of members of the university is given as 1,862. Forty years later, in 1621, the total, including college servants, is given as 2,911 (Masson, *Milton*, i, p. 90).

Professor Moore Smith's investigations ¹ have determined what the particular scholarship was that Marlowe held at Corpus from 1581 till 1587. It was one of the three new ones founded by the will of Archbishop Parker, who died 17 May, 1575. Previously, between 1565 and 1569, the Archbishop (who had been Master of Corpus Christi, 1544-53) had been instrumental in founding eleven other scholarships in the college, of which five were to be filled from his native city, Norwich, or the neighbouring villages of Wymondham and Aylsham,² and two from the King's School, Canterbury. In bequeathing money for the three new scholarships he expressed the same local attachments. The first of these scholars, his will states, is to be elected from the Canterbury School and to be a native of that city; the second and third to come from Aylsham and Wymondham respectively.³ Marlowe was the second scholar from Canterbury on this foundation, and inferentially was the personal choice of the archbishop's son, John Parker, who reserved the nomination to himself during his lifetime.⁴

¹ 'Marlowe at Cambridge', *Modern Language Review*, 1910.

² Hence Malone conjectured erroneously that Marlowe came from Norwich, Aylsham, or Wymondham (cf. *Conn. Academy of Arts and Sciences*, 1922, 393-4). For details concerning Parker's other scholarships see Masters, *History of Corpus Christi College*, 1831, 99-103. One, called Mr. Mere's Scholar, was to be of the county of Cambridge; two, supported by revenues from the hospital of Eastbridge in Canterbury, were to be chosen from the King's School and to be natives of Kent; and three were to be tenants' and farmers' sons in the counties of Norfolk, Suffolk, and Lincoln, or failing them, to be chosen from Westminster School, or finally from any grammar school in the province of Canterbury. In 1621 Corpus Christi College is still credited with just fourteen Scholars (Masson, *Milton*, i, 90).

³ Strype, *Life of Parker*, vol. iii, 1831, p. 336 f.: 'Item volo quod executores mei paratum reddant cubiculum in eo collegio jam vocatum a *storehouse* pro tribus aliis meis scholasticis inhabitandis, pro quibus singulis volo tres libras et sex solidos octoque denarios per annum dari, juxta formam quam executores mei scripto suo praescribent. Quorum scholasticorum primum electum volo per successores meos in schola Cantuar. et in ea urbe oriundum; secundum electum volo e schola de Aylesham; et tertium e schola de Wymondham, in hiis duabus villis oriundos.'

⁴ Masters, *op. cit.*, 106: 'We find his son JOHN PARKER, esq., in pursuance of his will, conveying to it <C.C.C.> an annuity of ten pounds, issuing out of his capital messuage, lands and tenements in Lambeth, lately purchased of Thomas duke of Norfolk, for the perpetual maintenance of THREE SCHOLARS (in addition to those formerly founded) out of the schools

The nominal income of Marlowe's scholarship by Parker's will (3*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*) was less by one-sixth than the rather handsome allowance that he received at Canterbury as scholar of the King's School. As the will was actually administered, the cash payments to scholars were yet smaller, for Marlowe and his two colleagues seem from the college accounts to have been paid at the same rate as the holders of other scholarships; i.e. one shilling a week for as much of the year as they were in residence. Forty-nine shillings and sixpence was the largest amount that the poet received during any year at Cambridge, but the accounts make it clear that he fared quite as well in this matter as any other scholar of the college.

The 'Storehouse', fitted up in accordance with Parker's will as a chamber for the holders of the last three scholarships of his creation, is a ground-floor room at the north-west corner of what is now called the old Court. Here Marlowe lived during more than a fifth of his lifetime. His chamber fellows seem all to have been, as the terms of the will required, Norfolk men.¹ One of them, Thomas Lewgar, who was admitted to his scholarship nearly a year before Marlowe (12 April, 1580), maintained his tenure through the entire period, graduating with the poet, B.A. in 1583/4 and M.A. in 1587. The other, Robert Thexton, identified by Masters as the son of the vicar of Aylsham, was the original incumbent of his scholarship, as Pashley had been of that to which Marlowe succeeded. Thexton was already a Bachelor of two years' standing when the poet entered. In the second quarter of 1581-82 he gave place to Thomas 'Munday',² who retired on taking his B.A. in 1583/4, and was followed by William Cockman.

of Canterbury, Aylsham and Wymondham. The nomination whereof he reserved to himself during his life.'

¹ In the college accounts Parker's last three scholarships are grouped with the five earlier Norwich scholarships. See above.

² Munday had matriculated as a sizar in Lent, 1579/80. In the *Registrum Parvum* of C.C.C. his election to a scholarship is thus recorded: 'Monday electus et admissus in locum domini Thexton. Maii 11 <1582>.'

These four were Marlowe's room-mates.¹ It is presumed that they were governed by the same general rules that applied to the Norwich group of scholars, who were to be born of honest parents and to be chosen between the ages of fourteen and twenty, being first well instructed in grammar, able to write and sing, and if it may be to make a (Latin) verse. They were to enjoy their exhibitions (stipends) for six years if they should be disposed to enter into holy orders, otherwise no longer than three. No scholar was to be absent (theoretically) more than a month in the year, and then only by leave of the authorities.²

The terms of the university year are distinguished as follows in the Cambridge Statutes of 1570:³

First Term (Michaelmas) : from October 10 till December 16.

Second Term (Lent) : from January 13 till the tenth day before Easter.

¹ All became apparently exemplary clergymen and lived long lives. Lewgar was almost certainly the son of Thomas Lewgar, vicar of Wymondham, 1573-81. He was ordained priest, 1590, became vicar of Norton Subcorse and Raveningham, Norfolk, in 1603, and rector of Stokesby, 1616. Thexton, who matriculated as pensioner from Corpus, 1575, was son of Lancelot Thexton, vicar of Aylsham, 1574-81. He succeeded his father as rector of Trunch, 1589-1619, and was buried there in 1624. Munday, leaving Cambridge after taking his B.A. in 1584, was licensed to teach grammar at Aylsham in that year. He became vicar of Cromer and rector of Sidestrand, and was buried at the latter place in 1640. Cockman, ordained 1589, was vicar of Elvedon, Suffolk, 1596-1634 (Venn, *Alumni Cantab.*, 1922-27).

² Masters, *History of C.C.C.*, 1831, p. 98. The earliest scholarship regulations, of 1548, were similar. Scholars were to be chosen 'out of such as should be competently learned in grammar, of the poorest men's children, being of such qualities as should be thought meet, and of such as were likely to proceed in arts and afterwards to make divinity their study. Upon which conditions they were entitled to these exhibitions for six years, otherwise they were to cease after three. Their behaviour was to be honest, lowly, studious, and such as might every way become their station; nor were they to be absent from the college above a month in the year (during the half of which they were to have their normal allowance) without the special leave of the Master and Fellows' (*ibid.*, p. 92). Parker's rules, it will be seen, were in general agreement with those of 1548 as regards the amount of vacation allowed and the requirement that only candidates for holy orders should hold their scholarships for six years; but Parker does not so much stress poverty as a consideration in selecting the scholars. (The tradition of two weeks' absent pay in the year is probably accountable for a slight discrepancy between the number of weeks of residence and the number of shillings received. See Ingram, *Marlowe and his Poetry*, p. 27.)

³ Heywood and Wright, *Cambridge Transactions*, Statute I, pp. 3-4.

Third Term (called the Easter Term) : from the 2nd Wednesday after Easter till the Friday after the *comitia* (Commencement Day, the first Tuesday in July).

Vacation Term : from the aforesaid day till the tenth of October, 'in quo propter intemperiem coeli, et pestis atque contagionis pericula, nec publicae lectiones (praeter regias) nec disputationes sint in academiae scholis, quae momentum aliquod ad gradus adipiscendos adferant'.

But though public lectures and examinations were restricted to the first three 'full terms', the sojourn of undergraduates in the colleges was not materially interrupted by contagion, plague, or intemperate sky. The extant entries in the Corpus college accounts record the following scholarship payments to Marlowe and his immediate companions in the converted 'Storehouse':¹

1580-81				
Solutum in Dominus	2a Trimestri	3a Trim.	4a Trim.	
	Thexton xiijs	Ds Thexton xiijs	Ds Thexton xs	
	Leugar xiijs	Leugar xiijs	Leugar iijjs	
	Marlin xijjs	Marlen xiijs	Marlen xijjs	
1581-82				
1a Trim.	2a Trim.	3a Trim.	4a Trim.	
Ds Thexton xijjs	Ds Thexton	Mondey ijjs	Monday xiijs	
	Mondey xijjs			
Lewger xiijs	Lewger xiijs	Lewger viijjs	Lewger iis	
Marlin xiijs	Marlin xiijs	Marlin xiijs	Marlin viijjs	
1582-83				
1a Trim.	2a Trim.	3a Trim.	4a Trim.	
Munday xijjs	Munday xjs	Munday iijjs	Munday xis vjd	
Lawgar iijjs	Lewger xiijs	Lewgar ixjs	Lawgar xis	
Malyn xijjs	Marlin xiijs	Marlin vjs	Marlin xiiijjs	
1583-84				
1a Trim.	2a Trim.	3a Trim.	4a Trim.	
D Munday xijjs	D Monday xs	D Monday iijs	Cokman iijjs	
D Lewgar xijjs	D Lewgar viijjs	D Lewgar viijjs	D Lewgar xiijs	
D Marlyn xijjs	D Marlin xiijs	D Marlyn xiijs	D Marlin xjs vi	
1584-85				
1a Trim.	2a Trim.	3a Trim.	4a Trim.	
Ds Lewgar	Ds Lewgar	Ds Lewgar	Ds Lewgar	
Ds Marlin iijjs	Ds Marlin vijs	Ds Marlin iiijjs	Ds Marlin vs	
Cockman xijjs	Cockman xiijs	Cockman iijjs	Cockman xiiijjs	
1585-86	There are no records for this year.			

¹ Moore Smith, 'Marlowe at Cambridge'. These have been checked with the originals.

1586-87

1a Trim.

Ds Lewgar

Ds Marly ix^sDs Cockman xiiij^s

2a Trim.

Ds Lewgar ii^sDs Marlye v^s vjdDs Cockman xj^s

3a Trim.

(Name omitted from list)

4a Trim.

Ds Cockman
xiiij^s

Since the quarterly payments listed above were made at least roughly on a basis of a shilling a week for each week of the scholars' residence in college, 'pro rata residentiae cuiusque eorum in collegio', the totals form a valuable index, as Professor Moore Smith has remarked, to the regularity of attendance. Marlowe's record in this respect compares very favourably with that of his companions. During his undergraduate period, to the end of the second quarter of 1583-84, he appears to have spent on an average forty-seven or forty-eight weeks of each year at Cambridge. Lewgar averaged only thirty-eight weeks during the same period. Graduates seeking the Master's degree were allowed much more freedom,¹ but from the accounts preserved it would appear that Marlowe averaged over thirty weeks a year at Cambridge during this period. The absence of any payments to Lewgar in 1584-85 and in the first quarter of 1586-87 (though his name was kept on the books) indicates, as Professor Moore Smith says, that he was not in Cambridge at all during this time; and this probably explains why Lewgar was allowed to retain his scholarship for an additional year beyond the six contemplated by the college rules.

Marlowe secured his degrees in due course, taking the B.A. in the spring of 1583/4 at the age of twenty and after slightly more than three years of residence. According to the second University Statute of 1570, all B.A. candidates were to be examined during the four-week period between Ash Wednesday and the Thursday after the fourth Sunday in Lent.² The technical requirement of four full years for

¹ A decree of 1608 explicitly stated that B.A.'s were 'not so strictly tied to a local commorancy and study in the University and Town of Cambridge' (Masson, *Milton*, i, 120).

² 'Solennis et annua sit professio baccalaureorum die Mercurii primam Dominicam Quadragesimae praecedenti, et prorogetur ad diem Jovis post

the bachelor's degree, coupled with the practice of awarding it in Lent, made difficulties which led in 1579 to a long interpretative decree important in explaining the conditions of Marlowe's residence and the date of his matriculation :

'Whereas there hath and doth yearly arise some controversies and doubts, whether that divers persons that do proceed bachelors of arts have fully and wholly accomplished the years and terms required by the statutes of the University to that degree ; and thereupon great contentions have ensued among the colleges, and some of such persons so proceeding have been charged with perjury, and such as have subscribed the said graces ¹ have been challenged as subject to the penalties in the statutes of the University. For the taking away of such controversies and dubitations, and for avoiding of such dangers, it was and is the 15th of February anno Domini 1578 <i.e. 1579> . . . decreed . . .

'Item, whereas the statute concerning the aforesaid degree requireth *quadriennium completum*, it was and is by the same authority defined, ordered, interpreted, and decreed, the day and year abovesaid, that all and singular persons so enrolled as is aforesaid, before, at, or upon the day when the ordinary sermon *ad clerum* is or ought to be made in the beginning of Easter term, shall be reputed and accounted to have wholly and fully satisfied the statute, if he shall proceed in the fourth Lent next following the said sermon ; but after that day of the said sermon *ad clerum*, if any come, then he shall not proceed in the fourth Lent following.' ²

Marlowe's entry before the date specified in 1581 enabled him to claim the completion of a *quadriennium* in Lent, 1584, and to graduate at the earliest permissible moment. His *supplicat* in the University Registry ³ is in the regular form :

'Supplicat Christopherus Marlin ut duodecim termini completi in quibus ordinarias lectiones audivit (licet non omnino quartam Dominicam ejusdem, quo tempore omnes quaestionistae antiquum et solitum examen subibunt.'

¹ That is, the authorities who certify the candidates as eligible for the degree. The 'grace' was the candidate's certificate.

² Heywood and Wright, *ibid.*, pp. 221-223.

³ Moore Smith, *loc. cit.*, p. 174.

secundum formam statuti) ¹ una cum omnibus oppositionibus, responsionibus caeterisque exercitiis per statuta regia requisitis sufficiant ei ad respondendum quaestioni.

‘THOMAS HARRIS *praelector*.’ ²

Marlowe’s name consequently appears in the Cambridge Grace Book as the second in the list of twelve candidates from Corpus Christi College granted permission ‘ad respondendum quaestioni’, i.e. to proceed to the B.A. degree. The record runs :

‘Corp. Christi 12. Ex collegio Corporis Christi : Abra. Tylman, Christof. Marlyn, Edw. Elvyn, Tho. Lewgar, Jo. Hilles, Simoni Thaxter, Jo. Burman, Rob. Durden, Tho. Monday, W^o <Gulielmo> Browne, Rob. Claphamson, Tho. Dryver.’

In the University ‘Ordo Senioritatis’ which follows places 90 and 91 are given to Munday and Burman, places 194–199 respectively to Elwyn, Lucar (*sic*), Tylman, Thaxter, Driver, and Marley (*sic*), and 212–215 to Dardyn, Hils, Clapson (*sic*), and Browne. The entire list contains 231 names.³

In this seniority list of B.A.’s for 1584 the poet’s name is written ‘Marley’ for the first time in the Cambridge records. The Corpus accounts persist in calling him Marlin through this year and the next, but in 1586–87 they also know him as Dominus Marly or Marlye. The M.A. ‘supplicat’ and Grace Book entries of 1587 write Marley consistently.

Marlowe’s ‘supplicat’ or formal claim that he had satisfied the requirements for the M.A. degree is in the usual form :

‘Supplicat reverentiis vestris Christopherus Marley ut novem termini completi (post finalem ejus determinationem) in quibus

¹ The parenthetical clause is a regular part of the ‘supplicat’, designed to cover immaterial deviations from the strict letter of the statutory requirements for the degree. It does not imply anything special in Marlowe’s case.

² Thomas Harris was himself from Kent and only half a dozen years senior to his pupil. He matriculated as pensioner from Corpus at Michaelmas, 1573; B.A., 1576–77; M.A., 1580; Fellow, 1579–86.

³ John Venn, *Grace Book Δ, containing the Records of the University of Cambridge for the Years 1542–1589*, 1910, pp. 372, 373.

lectiones ordinarias audivit (licet non omnino secundum formam statuti) una cum omnibus oppositionibus, responsionibus ceterisque exercitiis per statuta regia requisitis sufficiant ei ad incipiendum in artibus.

ROBERTUS NORGATE

HENRICUS RUSE, praelector.¹

The Grace Book contains the official validation of his candidacy, along with that of six other members of his college :

‘Magistri in artibus

Conceditur . . . ultimo Martii, 1587 . . .

Ex collegio Corporis Christi domino Thome Lewgar, Rob. Durden, Chr. Marley, Edw. Elwyn, Jo. Burman, W^o Browne, Abr. Tylman.’

The ‘Ordo Senioritatis’ ranges them in the following sequence :

Elvin	41
Lewgar	64
Marley	65
Dardon	73
Burman	80
Browne	92
Tilman	97

These seven M.A.’s from Corpus in 1587 were seven of the twelve B.A.’s of 1584. Hilles, Thaxter, Monday, Claphamson, and Dryver did not continue beyond the B.A.² Since Marlowe did continue, and since he retained his scholarship for the full period of six years,³ it should be assumed that his behaviour was satisfactory to the university authorities and that he was regarded as a candidate

¹ Robert Norgate was the President of Corpus Christi College, 1573–87. He died on 2 Nov. 1587. Henry Rewse was Fellow, 1583–89.

² Cf. biographical notices of them in Venn, *Alumni Cantabrigienses*.

³ In fact the six years during which scholarship payments were made to him (assuming that the missing accounts for 1585–86 would show disbursements to him) ended in December, 1586; but he received a further payment of five shillings and sixpence in the first quarter of 1587, at the end of which quarter (31 March) the grace recognizing his right to the M.A. was entered upon the University books.

for holy orders. What were the precise outward or inner forces that kept him from ordination we need not attempt to conjecture. They probably exerted themselves gradually and led to no overt acts of insubordination.¹ Faustus's opening soliloquy seems autobiographical in its expression of the ardent scholar's slow disillusionment; and the total impression which the student of Marlowe receives is that he was the reverse of cynical in his attitude either to religious questions or to questions of personal morality.

After the granting of the 'grace' for the M.A. on 31 March, 1557, there was no reason for Marlowe to remain at Cambridge, and he evidently did not do so, though it would be necessary for him to return at the July Commencement in order to receive the degree that he had earned. It would be convenient to assume that he employed the interval in writing *Tamburlaine*, which was already a popular success by the beginning of the next year.² However, Professor Hotson³ has made it clear that if poetry engaged Marlowe during the spring and early summer of 1587, it shared his attention with activities of a very different order. On 29 June of this year the Queen's Privy Council wrote the following letter to the University of Cambridge:

'Whereas it was reported that Christopher Morley was determined to have gone beyond the seas to Reames <Rheims> and there to remain, their Lordships thought good to certify that he had no such intent, but that in all his actions he had behaved himself orderly and discreetly, whereby he had done her Majesty good service and deserved to be rewarded for his faithful dealing. Their Lordships' request was that the rumour thereof should be

¹ That the authorities of Corpus Christi College were not lax at the period of Marlowe's residence in proceeding against disorderly students is evidenced by the case of Tobias Bland, who migrated to the college in 1582 after taking his B.A. as a member of Pembroke Hall. See the 'Articles against Tobias Blande, bachelor of art, 1584', Heywood and Wright, i, p. 392.

The election of Marlowe's successor, James Bridgman, is duly entered in the college 'Registrum Parvum', 1587: 'Bridghman electus et admissus in locum domini Marley'.

² It is alluded to by Greene in his preface to *Perimedes* (March, 1588),

³ *The Death of Christopher Marlowe*, p. 57 ff.

allayed by all possible means, and that he should be furthered in the degree he was to take this next Commencement ; because it was not her Majesty's pleasure that any one employed as he had been in matters touching the benefit of his country should be defamed by those who are ignorant in th' affairs he went about.' ¹

There is no reasonable ground for doubting that this remarkable document refers to the poet,² who here appears for the first time as a subject of interest to the authorities of the nation. In this letter we find him acquitted of any serious intention to go beyond the seas to Rheims, the hot-bed of Catholic plots. Six years later we find Kyd accusing him of persuading with men of quality to go unto the King of Scots, ' where if he had lived, he told me when I saw him last, he meant to be '. It is impossible to deny that Marlowe had a restless mind, and a tongue which got him suspected of many things. Several points, however, deserve to be carefully noted in connexion with the Privy Council's letter.

1. In the first place, whatever unjust suspicion of Marlowe existed at Cambridge would appear to have arisen after his departure from the University, for on 31 March he seems to have been in perfectly good standing. Converts to Rome were at this time being made at Cambridge in alarming numbers ; and as conditions then were disclosure of the fact that Marlowe had definitely abjured his intention of entering the English clergy, coupled with a report that he was going abroad, would have been quite sufficient to start a rumour of his having developed papist leanings.³

2. Though it is certainly true that one of the greatest

¹ Dasent, *Acts of the Privy Council*, vol. xv, p. 141.

² The identification is confirmed by a series of letters in the *London Times*, 23 June, 24 July, 27 July, 1925, on ' The Other Marlowe '. The fact that shortly after Marlowe's death one John Mathew, a seminary priest, employed the *alias* of Christopher Marlor or Marlowe may have contributed to blacken the poet's reputation.

³ Cf. A. K. Gray's article, ' Marlowe as a Government Agent ', cited later.

marvels of Elizabethan administration is the amount of time the lords of the Privy Council found for performing apparently trivial little acts of neighbourly good nature, still one would suppose that Marlowe's services 'in matters touching the benefit of his country' must have been fairly considerable to account for the language used.

3. The tone of the letter cannot be easily reconciled with the idea that Marlowe was a regular government agent or spy. If he had been, and had proved useful in that capacity, the Privy Council would never have urged action to put an end 'by all possible means' to popular rumours of disloyalty, so obviously useful to a spy.

4. The mission upon which the poet had been engaged was probably of a moderately confidential character, capable of being misunderstood by the general public, 'those that are ignorant in th' affairs he went about', and yet not secret enough to make it worth while to keep the public in ignorance. It probably took him for several months out of England to the Low Countries or to France,¹ though the letter does not precisely say this. Precedent for such employment of a poet there had recently been. Eight years before, in October, 1579, Edmund Spenser, then a young M.A. of Cambridge, had instructions to go to France, Spain, and Rome in the Earl of Leicester's service. 'I go thither', Spenser wrote back to Gabriel Harvey at Cambridge, 'as sent by him and maintained most what of him, and there am to employ my time, my body, my mind, to his Honour's service.'

Between March and June, 1587, when Marlowe performed the actions commended by the Privy Council, there was peculiarly large opportunity to do her Majesty service in manifold ways and places. Mary Queen of Scots had been beheaded on 8 February of this year, and it was seriously apprehended through the spring and summer following that

¹ Certain passages in *The Massacre at Paris* suggest first-hand acquaintance with political and religious conditions in France, but it is hard to be sure of such impressions.

her son, James of Scotland, would make common cause with Elizabeth's enemies.¹ The French ambassador, Chateauneuf, had been openly (and as it appeared, unjustly) accused of complicity in the so-called Stafford plot to kill the Queen. The situation that resulted was such as to produce grave anxiety, between February and May, of a total breach with France. Philip II of Spain was preparing his Armada for the conquest of England, and on 2 April Drake sailed on his expedition to the Spanish coast which postponed that peril for a year. Men were being drawn into national service in numbers hitherto unprecedented and money for national defence was being spent as never before. Secretary Walsingham's latest biographer observes that 'between March, 1587, and June, 1588, he received from the Queen 3,300 pounds for secret service, a larger allowance apparently than he ever got before or after during the same length of time'.²

It is possible, but unlikely, that some part of that money went to defray the expenses of Christopher Marlowe in the special service he undertook. Had this been so, one would expect to find the recommendation of Marlowe backed by the indefatigable Walsingham, head of the secret service and of English foreign relations; but Walsingham was not present at the meeting which drafted the letter, though he had attended one the day before, and the group of Councillors who sent it were not at all likely to interest themselves in behalf of one of Walsingham's agents. Those present at the meeting were the Archbishop of Canterbury (Whitgift), the Lord Chancellor (Sir Christopher Hatton), the Lord Treasurer (Burghley), the Lord Chamberlain (Hunsdon), and the Controller of the Queen's Household (Sir James Crofts). At this time Crofts, 'a councillor whose Spanish sympathies were notorious, who had in fact for some years been a pensioner of the King of Spain',³ was

¹ Conyers Read, *Mr. Secretary Walsingham*, 1925, iii, 190.

² *Ibid.*, p. 287.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 127.

deeply engaged in overtures for peace with Spain, in total opposition to the policy of Walsingham. In April, 1586, Lord Burghley received a letter from Flanders, 'through Crofts' servant Morris' ¹ to the effect that the Duke of Parma was well disposed towards peace and would presently send some one to England to discuss the matter. During the next year there was a great deal of amiably futile peace talk with Crofts as its centre. Burghley, an 'apostle of peace', sympathized at least in part, as the Queen did occasionally. Walsingham opposed it tooth and nail, with all the resources of his office. In June, 1587, the month of the letter, 'Morris, one of Sir James Crofts' servants, came post haste from the Low Countries with the news by word of mouth that Parma was prepared to arrange an armistice'. ² In February, 1588, five commissioners—Crofts, Derby, Cobham, and two others—actually went to Ostend to talk matters over with Parma, who privately termed Crofts 'a weak old man of seventy with very little sagacity', and merely played with his visitors. 'So it came about that at the very moment that Howard and Drake were pouring their broadsides into the Spanish Armada in the Channel, Derby and his colleagues were solemnly discussing terms on the Belgian shore and Crofts was writing home to Burghley that he felt convinced of Philip's sincere desire for peace.' ³ It is interesting to recall that Burghley's brilliant young son, Robert Cecil (born 1563), who like Marlowe had entered Cambridge in 1581, went on this ridiculous mission as an attendant of Lord Derby.

If we try to infer the nature of Marlowe's 'good service' to the Queen from the known attitude and interests of the Privy Councillors who wrote in his behalf, it is reasonable to assume that he had been employed in duties considerably more respectable, and probably much duller, than those assigned by Walsingham to men like Robert Poley. Lord

¹ Conyers Read, *Mr. Secretary Walsingham*, 1925, iii, 145.

² *Ibid.*, p. 262.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 276.

Burghley was, of course, Chancellor of the University of Cambridge, charged with the general supervision of its affairs. It seems to have been his honest purpose and that of his associates to assert the good character of Marlowe and to brand any rumours to his disadvantage as ignorant defamation ; and the round sentences of the letter give no hint that the authors wished to veil with mystery his relation to the state.¹

By all the evidences that have come down to us it appears that Marlowe's life at the university was happy beyond the usual lot of poets. The only blemish upon it is his failure to become a clergyman, as required by the conditions of the scholarship he held. Yet he maintained his scholarship nevertheless, took his degrees at the earliest possible dates, and left with a certainly unusual certificate of character from the Queen's Privy Council. He seems not to have been believed, unless by the 'ignorant', to be an atheist, a papist, or a spy. Nor does any one seem to have believed him to be a poet.

¹ More exciting inferences from this letter than the present writer has been able to draw will be found in two recent articles : 'Marlowe as a Government Agent', by Professor A. K. Gray (*Publ. Mod. Lang. Assoc.*, Sept. 1928), and 'Marlowe, Robert Poley, and the Tippings', by Miss Ethel Seaton (*Rev. of Engl. Studies*, July, 1929).

CHAPTER III

LONDON

AFTER taking his M.A. at Cambridge in July, 1587, Marlowe lived something less than five years and eleven months. Of this period, during which nearly all his important poetical work was done, few biographical facts are known, until the very end. He is referred to as living in London or in near-by parts of Kent. No visit to Canterbury or to Cambridge is recorded.

By what means the poet supported himself in London it would be very interesting to know. The conjecture that he was an actor, based on no evidence except Edward Phillips' random assertion that he 'rose from an actor to be a maker of plays' and the 'Atheist's Tragedy' forgery of Collier,¹ is inherently improbable. As an author of plays he could have maintained himself only by descending to voluminous hackwork, and this he seems not to have done. His total output was not great by Elizabethan standards: Dekker or Heywood wrote as many plays in one year as Marlowe in six. He did not resort in any published work to the usual recourse of the indigent poet, dedication to the great or wealthy. His name does not appear (save in a modern forgery) in Henslowe's Diary, that autograph album of improvident writers.² There is no indication that he wrote catchpenny pamphlets and ballads, or that he wrote anything (unless possibly *The Massacre at Paris* and the

¹ This preposterous ballad, purporting to give a contemporary's account of Marlowe's life and character, was printed by Dyce and Cunningham 'from a manuscript copy in the possession of Mr. J. P. Collier'.

² Of course, Henslowe started his entries about the theatre only toward the end of Marlowe's life. For the forged mention of 'a prolog to Marloes tambelan' see Greg's ed., I, p. xxxix.

York and Lancaster plays) with the careless rapidity of straitened circumstances. On the contrary, the main body of his work, dramatic and otherwise, shows a finish and attention to detail unusual at the time; while the later productions, such as *Edward II* and *Hero and Leander*, give evidence of matured thought and improved technique unlikely to have been achieved in so short a space of time without considerable opportunity for reflective leisure.

While Greene and Peele, Nashe, Dekker, and Chettle struggled along in manifest, almost proverbial, penury, Marlowe seems to have lived independently and with well-to-do associates. His friendship with Sir Walter Raleigh and Sir Thomas Walsingham is very well attested,¹ and was probably a little more than the attachment of protégé and patron. There is no evidence of his being in the 'service' of either of these important men or of his receiving money from them, but he was certainly on familiar terms with both. Of men about London whom he might have met at Cambridge, Greene was an envier, and probably an enemy of Marlowe; Nashe was a friend. Others with whom his name is particularly linked are Chapman and Chapman's intimate friend and fellow-poet, Matthew Roydon; Thomas Hariot, the mathematician and explorer²; William, or Walter, Warner³; and the young publisher-gentleman, Edward Blount.⁴

This was excellent company. Better could hardly have been found in England; but to gain the entrée and make one's place some boldness was required, and that Marlowe evidently had in abundance. Indeed, the clearest impression concerning his personality that has come to us

¹ Cf. pp. 50, 57 f., 65.

² For a good sketch of Hariot's admirable career see Henry Stevens: *Thomas Hariot and his Associates*, 1900.

³ William Warner was the poet of *Albion's England* and author of *Pan his Syrinx*, which Marlowe appears to have known; Walter Warner was a mathematician. It is not certain which Kyd meant to designate as Marlowe's particular friend.

⁴ See Sidney Lee's sympathetic sketch of Blount, 'An Elizabethan Bookseller', in *Bibliographica*, i, 474-498.

from those who knew him at this period is the impression of a boldness approaching brutality, which he exhibited, like Raleigh, in both physical and intellectual forms. His familiar talk seems to have been marked by contemptuous irony concerning fools and folly from the time when at Cambridge he 'was wont to say' of Gabriel Harvey's clerical brother Dick 'that he was an ass, good for nothing but to preach of the Iron Age'.¹ After going to London he shocked the strait-laced Kyd by his custom 'in table talk or otherwise to jest at the divine Scriptures, gibe at prayers, and strive in argument to frustrate and confute what hath been spoke or writ by prophets and such holy men'; and he ended by pouring out that combination of iconoclasm and fool-plaguing nonsense which Richard Baines employed to prove his atheism—affirming, among so much else, that the canonical estimate of 6,000 years for the age of the world could not be true, 'that Moses was but a juggler, and that one Heriots <Harriot> being Sir W. Raleigh's man can do more than he', that all Protestants are hypocritical asses, and that he had as good right to coin as the Queen of England: persuading men to atheism, as Baines testified, 'willing them not to be afeared of bugbears and hobgoblins'.

Though the quoted sayings come mainly from the testimony of informants anxious to make a strong case against the atheist, most of them have the ring of authenticity. Kyd and Baines probably invented little, though they surely gave themselves no pains to distinguish between the utterances of a dangerously rebellious spirit and casual deviltries invented for momentary effect. Kyd (a poltroon, I fear) thought Marlowe as reckless with his hands as with his tongue. 'He was intemperate <lacking in self-control>',

¹ Quoted by Nashe in *Have with you to Saffron Walden*, ed. McKerrow, iii, p. 85. Nashe himself called him 'little and little-witted Dick' (*ibid.*). Richard Harvey was rector of Chislehurst, Kent, 1586–1631. Marlowe would have been in his parish when living with Thomas Walsingham at Scadbury, and the saying may therefore date from this period. (See next chapter.)

says Kyd, 'and of a cruel heart'; and during the period when they were associated and 'writing in one chamber', Kyd seems to have suffered a good deal both from horror of the dangerous things his colleague would say and from fear for his skin when he reflected on Marlowe's 'other rashness in attempting sudden privy injuries to men'. It was rather a case of Mercutio and Dogberry writing in one chamber. Kyd was doubtless goaded, shocked, bullied, and terrified: his sincere relief can hardly be doubted when, as he says, as well by command of his squeamish lord 'as in hatred of his <Marlowe's> life and thoughts I left and did refrain his company'.

We may easily imagine that Marlowe was not at his best in the society of Kyd or Baines. He had, as has been mentioned, other companions who saw more amiable sides of his character, though they failed to leave such definite records of his talk. There is plenty of reason to infer, however, that London life developed in him qualities of wilfulness and iconoclasm that had not been evident to the Cambridge authorities or the lords of the Privy Council when those bodies so consistently registered their approval of his earlier conduct.

It may therefore be significant that the first biographical document relating to the dramatist after the Privy Council's letter of 29 June, 1587, certifying his orderly and discreet behaviour in all his actions, is a bond of 1 October, 1589, pledging his appearance at the next Newgate session to answer what may be objected against him on the part of the Queen. The bond specifies that on the date mentioned Richard Kytchine of Clifford's Inn, gentleman, and Humphrey Rowland of East Smithfield, 'horner', appeared as sureties for Christopher Marley 'of London, gentleman', each surety being bound in the sum of twenty pounds and Marlowe himself in the sum of forty for the latter's personal appearance 'ad proximam sessionem de Newgate'.

The nature of the offence with which Marlowe was charged

does not appear.¹ No indictment or further action against him at this time has been found. The arrangements for bail suggest that he may have been accused of a breach of the peace, and forced to give security for future good behaviour. Two other bonds of the same year, similar in their terms, concern Irishmen. On 26 April Patrick Grant, gent., and Daniel Kelley, gent., were bound in ten pounds each and Maurice Newegent, Irishman, in twenty pounds for the said Maurice Newegent's appearance at the next Gaol Delivery of Newgate, then and there to answer to such things as may be objected against him.² On 17 May following William Pickering, barber-surgeon, and George Smith, tailor, are bound in the sum of twenty pounds each and William Daunsee of the city of Limerick in Ireland, gentleman, in the sum of forty pounds, for the said Wm. Daunsee's appearance at the next General Session of the Peace . . . and in the meantime for his peaceful bearing towards all persons, and more especially towards John Hardon and his wife Joan, and towards John Pugsley and his wife Agnes.³

Four and a half years after he furnished bail for Marlowe, Richard Kitchen was himself in trouble, probably for the same type of offence. On 11 April, 1594, a London grand jury indicted Richard Kytchen, late of London, gentleman, for an armed assault, committed 2 April, upon John Finch in the parish of St. Bartholomew the Great, where Finch was wounded.⁴ The aggressor here is most likely Marlowe's friend, and he is probably the same Richard Kytchyn whom

¹ Theoretically, citation to appear at the Newgate Gaol Delivery implied felony, something worse than the misdemeanours handled by the sessions of the peace; but Jeaffreson points out (*Middlesex County Records*, i, p. xxii) that in practice the Gaol Delivery and Sessions of the Peace rolls do not greatly differ as regards the enormity of the cases tried.

² J. C. Jeaffreson, *Middlesex County Records*, i, 187.

³ On 4 March of this year (1589), Ralph Winwood, contemporary with Marlowe in age, at this time Fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford, and later Secretary of State, entered a recognizance in the sum of forty pounds 'for his appearance at the next General Session of the Peace to be held in Middlesex, to give evidence against John Tannett' (Tannett had robbed a goldsmith's man).

⁴ Public Record Office: K.B. 9. 685. See *Atlantic Monthly*, July, 1926, p. 41.

Professor Hotson finds acting as attorney in 1586 and assessed in 1588 for land he owned in the parish of St. Bartholomew's, Smithfield, where the assault upon Finch was committed.¹ His name is that of a distinguished family of Elizabethan lawyers.²

Concerning Marlowe's other surety, Humphrey Rowland, Professor Hotson has discovered a good deal.³ In 1586 he was cited to appear before the court of King's bench to answer 'concerning certain transgressions and extortions',⁴ of which the nature is now unknown. He must have been ten years or more older than the poet, for he was in business as early as 1577. He was at least twice married, had a son baptized 20 July, 1589, besides other children, and was for a number of years churchwarden of the parish of St. Botolph's in East Smithfield, outside Aldgate.⁵ The tax lists show him assessed for moderate holdings of property between 1586 and 1598. Much larger assessments in the East Smithfield lists are entered against James and Thomas Morlowe or Morley, who were evidently men of wealth. If they were, as Professor Hotson surmises, relatives of the poet, that might account for his acquaintance with their

¹ This is the district of West Smithfield, the site of Bartholomew Fair and the region of the Inns of Court. It was in 'Farringdon Ward Without', which, as Stow says (*Survey of London*, 1598, p. 303 ff.), was 'the farthest west Warde of this Citie, being the 25. Warde of London, but without the Walles'. It extended west from Newgate and Ludgate as far as Temple Bar and Chancery Lane. Clifford's Inn was on the north side of Fleet Street, near Chancery Lane and adjacent to St. Dunstan's Church.

² Marlowe's surety, Richard Kitchen of Clifford's Inn, was already married, for a general licence was issued, 23 Jan. 1579/80, for the marriage of Richard Kitchen, gent., of Clifford's Inn, and Agnes Redman, spinster, of St. Swithin, London (Joseph Foster, *London Marriage Licences, 1521-1869*, 1887).

³ J. L. Hotson, 'Marlowe Among the Churchwardens', *Atlantic Monthly*, July, 1926, pp. 37-44.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 41. 'Venire facias octabis Hilarii Humfridum Rowland de parochia de Estsmythfelde in comitatu Middlesexie yoman responsurum Regine de quibusdam transgressionibus et extorcionibus unde indictatus est per Bagam supradictam.'

⁵ It will be seen that East Smithfield, where Rowland lived, was on the extreme opposite side of London from West Smithfield, which contained Clifford's Inn. Both were outside the old city wall, on the east and west sides respectively. For an Elizabethan description of East Smithfield and St. Botolph's Church, see Stow, *Survey of London*, 1598, pp. 89, 91.

neighbour Rowland, and might even suggest that he lived like them in East Smithfield, beyond the Tower of London, beside the old Kent road that led to Deptford and Canterbury. If, however, Marlowe had been on intimate terms with James and Thomas Morley, one would expect to find one of their names on his bond instead of that of the respectable but less wealthy Rowland.¹

What penalty Marlowe paid when he presented himself at the Newgate Gaol Delivery in 1589, we do not know. There is not the slightest reason to suppose that the charge against him related to his writings or that the punishment inflicted, if any, had any bearing upon his literary career.² By the end of 1589, he was the author of some very successful tragedies, but it is far from certain that he had reaped much in the way of personal triumph and emolument from their fame. No Elizabethan, in any word that has been so far discovered, definitely connected Marlowe's name with *Tamburlaine*, though the author must have been fairly well known both to those who praised and those who blamed the work when Greene drew together his allusions³ to 'daring God out of heaven with that atheist Tamburlaine', and to 'such mad and scoffing poets, that have propheticall spirits as bred of *Merlin's* race,⁴ if there be any in England that set the end of scholarship in an English blank verse'.

The first part of *Tamburlaine*, acted by the Lord Admiral's company, evidently got its start in the old inn-yards rather than at the more dignified 'Theatre' or 'Curtain', for the title-page bears the typical description of miscellaneous inn-yard performance, 'sundry times shewed upon stages

¹ A licence was issued, 30 April, 1584, for the marriage of Edward Marlow of Ashford, co. Middlesex, tailor, and Alice Woode, spinster, at this same church of St. Botolph, Aldgate (Joseph Foster, *London Marriage Licences*).

² The most reasonable conjecture is that Marlowe had been 'bound to the peace' for some assault or threat of violence. Compare the case of Master Downright in Jonson's *Every Man in his Humour*.

³ Preface to *Perimedes*, 1588.

⁴ The pun becomes perfect if one pronounces the 'e' of Merlin as in clerk and remembers that Marlowe was usually written 'Marlin' at Cambridge. Compare the spelling 'Merling' in the official list of 1581 (*ante*, p. 23).

in the city of London'; and the printer's epistle speaks with similar indefiniteness, 'shewed in London upon stages'.¹ The text of Part I is what one might expect from a collision between the sensibilities of a young academic and the loose methods of the inn-yard. Acts and scenes are meticulously listed, but no effort is made to employ the stage devices with which a real theatre was provided at the time; for example, the inner stage, 'balcony', or curtain. Marlowe proclaims in his prologue a self-denying ordinance as regards jiggling veins and conceits of clownage, while the inn-yard clowns pack the performance with 'fond and frivolous gestures', greatly gaped at by their spectators, but in the printer's opinion 'far unmeet for the matter', and therefore to be deleted. And finally the printer introduces the published version in pharasaical jargon as 'Two Tragical Discourses of the Scythian Shepherd', presenting them 'To the Gentlemen Readers, and others that take pleasure in reading histories'.

The prologue to Part II of *Tamburlaine* implies a definite commission to produce this sequel for a single company and theatre. One finds also in Part II a much more elaborate stage business and stage architecture.

A little light upon Marlowe's manner of life during the years following the Newgate gaol delivery bond is derivable from Kyd's letter to Sir John Puckering, in which he alludes to 'our writing in one chamber two years since'. Kyd continues:

'My first acquaintance with this Marlowe rose upon his bearing name to serve my Lord, although his Lordship never knew his service but in writing for his players; for never could my Lord endure his name or sight when he had heard of his conditions, nor would indeed the form of divine prayers used duly

¹ Prynne (*Histrionastix*, 1633, pt. i, p. 556) refers to a performance of *Dr. Faustus* at the Belsavage, one of the five well-known inn-yard theatres, mentioning 'the visible apparition of the Devill on the Stage at the Belsavage Play-house in Queene Elizabeths dayes (to the great amazement both of the Actors and Spectators) whiles they were there prophanelly playing the History of Faustus'.

in his Lordship's house have quadred <squared> with such reprobates.'

The purpose of Kyd's letter, written to the Lord Keeper (i.e. Chancellor) ¹ soon after Marlowe's death in 1593, was to get from him credentials of character, and in particular of religious orthodoxy, that would reinstate Kyd in the household of the lord, whom, he says, he has 'served almost these six years now'. It is of some importance to determine who this lord was whom Marlowe 'bore name' to serve through writing for his players, when Kyd first met him, and in whose employ both presumably were when they were writing together in 1591.

It is natural to think first of the Earl of Pembroke since the title-pages of Marlowe's *Edward II* (1594) and *The True Tragedy of Richard Duke of York* (1595) state Pembroke's men to have acted them, and the same assertion is made on the title-pages of *The Taming of a Shrew* and *Titus Andronicus*, in which at least suspicions of the workmanship of Marlowe and Kyd respectively have been found. But, as Chambers points out,² Pembroke's company is not mentioned before 1592, and there is 'no reason to suppose that it had an earlier existence'. When Kyd speaks of writing in one room with Marlowe two years before the summer of 1593 and ascribes his *first* acquaintance with the latter to the circumstance of his writing for Kyd's lord's players, he evidently carries us back to a period before the appearance of Pembroke's men.

Dr. Boas,³ followed by Greg⁴ and Chambers,⁵ suggests the possibility that Kyd's lord may have been Robert, fifth Earl of Sussex, to whose countess Kyd dedicated his *Cornelia* in 1594. Sussex, however, even less than Pembroke, satisfies the conditions. He did not become earl till

¹ Sir John Puckering was the successor to Sir Christopher Hatton, who had held this important dignity when he signed the Privy Council's letter to Cambridge in 1587.

² *Elizabethan Stage*, ii, 128.

⁴ *Henslowe's Diary*, ii, 79, note 1.

³ *Works of Kyd*, p. lxiv.

⁵ *Elizabethan Stage*, ii, 92-96.

December, 1593, after Marlowe's death, and previously does not seem to have maintained players. The company of his father, the fourth earl, were at the time mentioned by Kyd a provincial troupe that could not have engaged Marlowe's services.

Dr. Tannenbaum¹ proposes for Kyd's patron the Lord Strange, whose company performed *The Spanish Tragedy* in 1592-93, though they cannot have been the first to act that play. Ferdinando Stanley, Lord Strange, who became fifth Earl of Derby in September, 1593, and died the following April, does indeed satisfy the meagre conditions offered by Kyd's letter, which suggests that the lord in question was not a member of the Privy Council (as Strange's father and the Lord Admiral both were) and that he was sensitive to that body's opinion of his religious orthodoxy.² Strange appears to have had Catholic sympathies of a kind, and though loyal, was in 1593 the unwilling centre of Roman plots concerning the succession to the crown.

The situation, as it relates to Marlowe, may be explained if we remember that *Tamburlaine* (as the title-page of 1590 tells us) was produced by the company of the Lord Admiral, Howard of Effingham, which later revived the two parts of that play, as well as *Doctor Faustus*, *The Massacre at Paris*, and *The Jew of Malta*, at Henslowe's Rose Theatre. The history of the Lord Admiral's company is very obscure between November, 1589, when performances by them in London were suppressed by the Lord Mayor, and 1594. In the interval they seem to have functioned in an unstable combination with Lord Strange's men, playing sometimes together and sometimes separately.³ Edward Alleyn, the great actor of Marlowe's plays, called himself consistently the Lord Admiral's man, but the company to which he was attached was at this period most commonly referred to as Strange's. In February, 1591, this company (referred to

¹ *The Booke of Sir Thomas Moore*, pp. 39-41.

² See Appendix XI, pp. 103, 105.

³ Chambers, *Elizabethan Stage*, ii, 120 f., 135-39.

under both names) acted at court, and in the following spring they were giving performances at the 'Theatre'.

This is the epoch to which we are carried back by Kyd's estimate of two years' lapse since he and Marlowe worked together. The break between Marlowe and Kyd's lord took place, I suppose, about this time and involved as its chief consequence that Marlowe wrote no more plays for Alleyn to act. The fact that *Edward II* and *The True Tragedy* were produced by Pembroke's company and never performed by the Admiral's is most easily accounted for by what Kyd seems to imply; namely, that Lord Strange had been shocked to find his company (in consequence of the merger with the Admiral's men) serving as the vehicle for Marlowe's radicalism, and had forthwith commanded them to break off relations with the 'atheist'—issuing the same order to Kyd himself, through whom, it is allowable to infer, his Lordship may in part have secured his impression of Marlowe's perversive influence. 'For never', Kyd smugly remarks, 'could my Lord endure his name or sight, when he had heard of his conditions <i.e. character>.'

In *Edward II*, for the Pembroke company, which is so obviously *not* intended for an Alleyn, one sees interesting consequences. In this play, and perhaps in the early sketches of 2nd and 3rd *Henry VI* for the same company, Marlowe turned to English history, which he had not previously treated, and substituted balanced groups of characters for the one-man dramas that had been the instruments of Alleyn's fame. The change is most obvious in *Edward II*, where the great increase in vivacity of dialogue¹ at the cost of sounding rhetoric, and the poet's constant attention to small details of stage business, show an almost painful regard for the interest of a company not possessed of any star performer but capable of good ensemble effects. Compared with *Tamburlaine*, *Faustus*, and *The Jew of Malta*, *Edward II*

¹ *Tamburlaine*, with 2,316 lines, has 392 speeches; *Edward II*, with 2,670 lines, has 952.

is the work of a chastened poet, who consciously subdues his nature to that it works in and subordinates sheer beauty of language to histrionic effect. Yet the result is so dignified and expressive that it is unwise to think of *Edward II* as a mere *tour de force* of adaptation or an index of reduced vitality. In this play and in *Hero and Leander* a sane and rounded tolerance appears which bears evidence to the personality of the author no less than the incandescent brilliance of his wilder dramas.

Marlowe was not always the iconoclast, and in the parts he wrote for Alleyn it is only fair to discount the concession he made to the robustious periwig-pated fellow who tore his passion to tatters.¹ If the Lord Strange dismissed him for misleading his players, Marlowe might with some justice have retorted in Falstaffian strain that it was not he who misled the players, but they him. For in *Edward II* he shows the dramatic taste of Hamlet, using all gently, suiting the action to the word, the word to the action, with special observance that his actors o'erstep not the modesty of nature.

Marlowe did not write long for Lord Pembroke's company. On 23 June, 1592, the Privy Council was moved by disturbances in the city and suburbs to issue a decree 'that there be no plays used in any place near thereabouts, as the Theator, Curtaigne, or other usual places where the same are commonly used . . . from hence forth until the feast of St. Michael <Sept. 29>'.² By the middle of August plague had added its dangers, and for the rest of Marlowe's life play-writing was a quite impractical profession.

¹ Bishop Hall (*Vergidemiae*, 1597) speaks of the stage-struck Elizabethan who dreams of emulating 'the Turkish *Tamberlaine*' (i.e. Alleyn in that rôle):

'Then weeneth he his base drink-drowned spright
Rapt to the threefold loft of heauens hight,
When he conceives vpon his fained stage
The stalking steps of his great personage,
Graced with huf-cap termes, and thundring threats,
That his poore hearers hayre quite vpright sets.'

² Chambers, *Elizabethan Stage*, iv, 310 f.

CHAPTER IV

SCADBURY

IT is probable that Marlowe spent his last months mainly in his native county of Kent, at Scadbury, the country house of Mr. Thomas Walsingham near Chislehurst, a dozen miles south-east of London. Here, I think, he wrote the fragment of *Hero and Leander*, which his friend Edward Blount five years later dedicated to Walsingham in words that assert no ordinary affection for the poet's memory :

‘ To the Right Worshipful Sir Thomas Walsingham, Knight.¹ Sir, we think not ourselves discharged of the duty we owe to our friend when we have brought the breathless body to the earth : for albeit the eye there taketh his ever-farewell of that beloved object, yet the impression of the man that hath been dear unto us, living an after life in our memory, there putteth us in mind of farther obsequies due unto the deceased. And namely of the performance of whatsoever we may judge shall make to his living credit, and to the effecting of his determinations prevented by the stroke of death. By these meditations (as by an intellectual will) I suppose myself executor to the unhappily deceased author of this poem, upon whom knowing that in his lifetime you bestowed many kind favours, entertaining the parts of reckoning and worth which you found in him with good countenance and liberal affection, I cannot but see so far into the will of him dead, that whatsoever issue of his brain should chance to come abroad, that the first breath it should take might be the gentle air of your liking : for since his self had been accustomed thereunto, it would prove more agreeable and thriving to his right children than any other foster countenance whatsoever. At this time, seeing that this unfinished tragedy happens under my hands to be imprinted : of a double duty, the one to yourself, the other to the deceased,

¹ In 1597, the year before this dedication was written, Walsingham had entertained Queen Elizabeth at Scadbury and had been knighted by her.

I present the same to your most favourable allowance, offering my utmost self now and ever to be ready at your worship's disposing.

'EDWARD BLUNT'

If it is permissible to judge the nature of Marlowe's life at Scadbury by the tone of Blount's letter and the attitude of mind reflected in *Hero and Leander* and the version of the first book of Lucan's *Pharsalia*,¹ it was a gracious mood in which he passed those months of pestilence and danger. More even than in *Edward II* the young man's cult of *virtù* has given place to the recognition of fate as the law of life, the encompassing frame that lends significance to our existence. It is a long way from Tamburlaine's vaunt,

'I hold the Fates bound fast in iron chains,
And with my hand turn Fortune's wheel about,'

back to Lucan's posture of noble dubiety,

'Each side had great partakers : Caesar's cause
The gods abetted ; Cato liked the other' ;

and to that doctrine of self-surrender as essential to moral completeness, which *Hero and Leander* expresses everywhere :

'It lies not in ourselves to love or hate,
For will in us is overruled by fate.'

Hero and Leander in particular has biographical significance. It forbids us to believe that Marlowe was fundamentally or finally intemperate, as Kyd called him, or of a cruel heart. Nor can we easily suppose that its placid beauty was achieved while the author was employing his less poetical hours as a libertine, a secret agent, or a revolutionist. It was bad psychology that inspired the too facile antithesis of *The Return from Parnassus* :

'Pity it is that wit so ill should dwell,
Wit lent from heaven, but vices sent from hell.'

¹ The *Lucan* and *Hero and Leander* were both entered for publication by John Wolfe, 28 Sept. 1593.

Meantime, as has been said, plague had been raging in London since August, 1592, and by the following May had attained the proportions of a major national disaster. For the week ending 26 May, 1593, the number of plague deaths was set at the very high figure of 58 ;¹ a month later (30 June) the weekly total had mounted to 118. Against this lurid and demoralizing background—the same that Chaucer uses for his Pardoner's Tale and Boccaccio for the *Decameron*—is set the close of Marlowe's life.

The Stationers' Register enables us in some fashion to feel the pulse of the city at the time. On 21 March John Wyndet entered for copyright 'a book entitled A Defensative against the Plague, containing two parts or treatises : the first how to preserve us from the danger thereof, the second how to cure those that are infected therewith'. The next book licensed, nearly a week later (27 March) is, appropriately enough, Boethius *de Consolatione Philosophiae*. The entry by Shakespeare's publisher, Richard Field, of 'a book entitled *Venus and Adonis*' on 18 April stands out as a lone and reckless gesture, as if, almost, 'to move wild laughter in the throat of death'. Field's next entry, on 2 May, is very different : 'the first part of Christian Passions, containing a hundred sonnets of Meditation, Humiliation, and Prayer'. Only seven new books (of which four are religious) were entered for publication in this whole month of May. In May, 1592, eighteen were entered ; in May, 1594, twenty-five.

It is charitable and not wholly unreasonable to impute to nervous tension in time of pestilence some of the blame for the brutal spirit of persecution manifested during this spring by Archbishop Whitgift, Marlowe's sponsor of 1587. By means of the autocratic powers granted him and his Court of High Commission he secured on 21 March the indictment for felony of the two separatist Puritan reformers, Henry

¹ Thirty plague deaths a week were regarded as marking a situation of acute danger, sufficient to justify closing the theatres. Cf. F. P. Wilson, *The Plague in Shakespeare's London*, 1927, pp. 53-54.

Barrow and John Greenwood, who had been in jail for over six years. They were promptly found guilty, and on 6 April hanged. The fate of John Penry is even more discreditable to the archbishop, and offers a useful contrast to Marlowe's. Penry, born probably the year before the poet,¹ had been his contemporary at Cambridge, where he was a member of Peterhouse. He took his B.A., like Marlowe, in the spring of 1584, but migrated to Oxford for his M.A. An earnest advocate of religious reform, he began by writing an address to Parliament on the low state of the Church in his native country of Wales and later became concerned, as an accomplice if not author, in the attacks on the English bishops by 'Martin Marprelate'. Forced to flee to Scotland, he remained there as a refugee for nearly three years, but returned to London secretly in September, 1592. On Sunday, 4 March, 1593, he was arrested with a group of Puritans worshipping in the woods, but escaped, to be recaptured on 22 March. Put on trial at King's Bench, 21 May, he was quickly found guilty and hanged eight days later, 29 May—the day before the death of Marlowe.

The culmination of Penry's fate therefore synchronized with the investigation of Marlowe's atheism by the Privy Council, and helps us to estimate the significance of the attitude of the political authorities towards the poet. First, however, it is essential to consider the immediate circumstances that brought Marlowe under suspicion.

These were the indirect result of an outburst of political disaffection which caused anxiety to the Government in the spring of 1593. They can be regarded as yet another evidence of the demoralizing influence of the plague. The situation developed along lines that were quite conventional at the time. The people of London expressed their restlessness by threats against the aliens dwelling among them, raising the old cry of 'England for the English'; and the

¹ William Pierce, *John Penry : His Life, Times, and Writings*, 1923, p. 5.

authorities, assuming the nature of rebellion to be identical in the temporal and the spiritual kingdom, sought to capture the inciters to riot by laying traps for freethinkers and 'atheists'.

In March the House of Commons discussed the necessity of protection for aliens in connexion with a bill that had been introduced to prohibit them from selling imported commodities at retail.¹ In April the minutes of the Privy Council speak apprehensively of anti-alien posters in the streets: 'The Queen's Majesty having been made acquainted with certain libels lately published by some disordered and factious persons in and about the city of London, showing an intent in the artificers and others who hold themselves prejudiced in their trades by strangers to use some course of violence to remove the said strangers or by way of tumult to suppress them, a matter very dangerous and with all diligence to be prevented. . . .' Hence Dr. Caesar and four others are commanded 'to examine by secret means who may be authors of the said libels, and by your industries to discover what the intentions are of the publishers thereof'.² On 11 May the situation was deemed so serious that the Privy Council issued the following exhortation:

'At the Star Chamber on Friday, being the 11th of May, 1593.

Present:

Lord Archbishop <Whitgift>	Earl of Derby
Lord Keeper <Sir John Puckering>	Lord Buckhurst
Lord Treasurer <Burghley>	Sir Robert Cecil
Sir John Fortescue	

* * * * *

¹ Tannenbaum, *The Booke of Sir Thomas Moore*, p. 97. Dr. Tannenbaum (*The Assassination of Christopher Marlowe*, p. 56) notes that Sir Walter Raleigh was the only Member who spoke in Parliament against the foreigners.

² Dasent, *Acts of the Privy Council*, vol. xxiv, pp. 200-201 (22 April).

'A letter to Sir R. Martin,¹ Anthony Ashley,² Mr. Alderman Buckle,³ &c. : There have been of late divers lewd and malicious libels set up within the city of London, among the which there is some set upon the wall of the Dutch Churchyard that doth exceed the rest in lewdness ; and for the discovery of the author and publisher thereof her Majesty's pleasure is that some extraordinary pains and care be taken by the commissioners appointed by the Lord Mayor for th' examining such persons as may be in this case any way suspected. These shall be, therefore, to require and authorize you to make search and apprehend every person so to be suspected, and for that purpose to enter into all houses and places where any such may be remaining. And, upon their apprehension, to make like search in any the chambers, studies, chests, or other like places for all manner of writings or papers that may give you light for the discovery of the libellers. And after you shall have examined the persons, if you shall find them duly to be suspected, and they shall refuse to confess the truth, you shall by authority hereof put them to the torture in Bridewell, and by th' extremity thereof, to be used at such times and as often as you shall think fit, draw them to discover their knowledge concerning the said libels. We pray you herein to use your uttermost travail and endeavour, to th' end the author of these seditious libels may be known, and they punished according to their deserts. And this shall be your sufficient warrant.' ⁴

The ruthlessness of this letter reflects the domineering spirit of Archbishop Whitgift, now at the height of his career as a suppressor of Puritan dissent. On the next day Thomas Kyd had been arrested, and his papers had

¹ Sir Richard Martin (1534-1617), a goldsmith by trade, Lord Mayor on several occasions ; master of the Mint under Elizabeth and James. On the preceding 12 April he had been one of two members of the city court of aldermen appointed to wait upon the Privy Council 'touching the present suppressing of bear-baiting, bowling alleys, and suchlike profane exercises' (Chambers, *Eliz. Stage*, iv, 314). His brother William kept the Counter Prison in Wood Street.

² Anthony Ashley (1551-1628), clerk of the Privy Council from about 1588. Member of Parliament from Old Sarum in 1593.

³ Cuthbert Buckle, a vintner, had served as alderman from three different wards of the city. Later in this year he was elected Lord Mayor. He died in July, 1594 (A. B. Beaven, *The Aldermen of the City of London*, 1908).

⁴ Dasent, *Acts of the Privy Council*, vol. xxiv, p. 222 ; Boas, *Works of Kyd*, p. lxxvii. Miss Seaton (*Rev. of Engl. Studies*, July, 1929, p. 274) notes that by the end of the month the Council had discovered and punished the offender, one Shore, a scrivener in Cornhill.

been searched in the manner desired by the Privy Council. This is indicated by the endorsement on the back of a three-page theological fragment in the British Museum : ¹

‘ 12 May 1593
vile hereticall Conceiptes
denyinge the deity of Jhesus
Christ our Saviour fownd
emongest the papers of thos
kydd prisoner ’

The handwriting of the document, a strikingly neat italic such as a trained scrivener would employ, is much like the italic passages in Kyd’s signed letter to Puckering. Dr. Tannenbaum decides that it is indeed Kyd’s holograph.² Kyd, however, denied this, and the following addition to the endorsement quoted above has been appended : ³

‘ which he affirmethe that he
had ffrom Marlowe.’

In his letter to the Lord Keeper, Sir John Puckering, written after Marlowe’s death and Kyd’s release from prison, the latter calls the heretical document ‘ fragments of a disputation touching that opinion affirmed by Marlowe to be his ’, and says that it was found among the ‘ waste and idle papers which I cared not for and which unasked I did deliver up ’, having been unintentionally shuffled with his property when Marlowe and he were occupying the same room. Kyd’s phrase for the paper is very accurate ; Professor Briggs has recently shown ⁴ that it is indeed

¹ Harleian MSS. 6848, fol. 187-189.

² *The Booke of Sir Thomas Moore*, p. 43.

³ ‘ In differently coloured ink, apparently on a later occasion ’, Boas (p. cxi) ; ‘ dans une encre differente, et probablement ajoutée plus tard ’, Danchin (p. 567).

⁴ W. D. Briggs, ‘ On a Document concerning Christopher Marlowe ’, *Studies in Philology*, xx, 153-159, April, 1923. The book from which the fragments are derived is a dialogue by John Proctor, *The Fal of the late Arrian* (i.e. believer in the Arian heresy), 1549. J. Broughton (*Gent’s Mag.*, Feb. 1830, p. 123) quotes a remarkable allusion in Myles Davis, *Athenae Britannicae*, 1716, p. 377 : ‘ neither be there any memorials autographal of the Arian blasphemies of the stage-poet, Christopher Marlowe, now appearing since 1593 ’.

' fragments of a disputation ' printed over forty years before. Its anti-trinitarian arguments are therefore not, as the police officer who wrote the endorsement of 12 May doubtless thought, of Kyd's composition.

Equally, of course, they cannot have been composed by Marlowe. I think that Kyd's testimony is essentially true : the papers belonged to Marlowe,¹ and the doubts respecting the divinity of Christ that they express were doubts which Marlowe also entertained. The most offensive of the sayings quoted against him by Kyd and Baines are vulgarized expressions of this same difficulty about accepting the incarnation, which is so natural a stumbling-block to the faith of thinking Christians. Passages like the last soliloquy of *Dr. Faustus* and the miraculous response to the invocation of Orcanes in *2 Tamburlaine*² are not consistent with the idea that Marlowe was a cynical sceptic concerning the doctrine of the Trinity ; but there is abundant indication that he was stung by obstinate questionings from the time he left Cambridge without holy orders. Kyd, who was neither subtle nor courageous, found no hardship in orthodoxy, and would naturally not have rated the speculations in Proctor's book about the Father and the Son as more than ' waste papers . . . which I cared not for '. The concreteness and lack of speciousness in Kyd's report convince me that he was (mainly) telling the truth.

The sequence of events seems clear. In May, 1593, Marlowe was the guest of Thomas Walsingham at Scadbury, where he may have been living since the plague sent Lord Pembroke's players out of London. Meantime the disorder

¹ It would be interesting to believe that they are in Marlowe's handwriting and that he had himself copied them from Proctor's book, but this does not necessarily follow. The hand is too clerly and formal to characterize the writer very definitely, and we have no known specimen of Marlowe's writing with which to compare it. It certainly does resemble Kyd's Italian penmanship, and Kyd had been trained as a scrivener. If it is his, we must conclude that Kyd had been led to meddle with Marlowe's ' disputes in heavenly matters of theology ' to a much greater extent than he later found it prudent to admit.

² Lines 2893 ff.

in the city was such that the Lord Mayor had appointed a body of special commissioners to examine suspected persons. On 11 May the Privy Council urged these commissioners to unusual efforts and invested them with tyrannical powers. On 12 May Kyd was in prison as a revolutionary propagandist and the unitarian fragments out of Proctor had been found among his papers and ticketed as evidence of his lewd religious principles (and hence of his dangerous social influence). Upon examination, Kyd could not at once clear himself of the political charges against him, but he testified to Marlowe's responsibility for the heretical papers.

Consequently, on Friday, 18 May—just a week after their letters to the Mayor's commissioners—the Privy Council took steps to secure the testimony of Marlowe. A minute of that date reads :¹

'A warrant to Henry Maunder, one of the messengers of her Majesty's Chamber, to repair to the house of Mr. Tho. Walsingham in Kent, or to any other place where he shall understand Christofer Marlow to be remaining, and by virtue thereof to apprehend and bring him to the Court in his company. And in case of need to require aid.'

Maunder evidently carried out his orders without much difficulty. A minute of two days later announces Marlowe's arrival :¹

'20 May. This day Christofer Marley of London, gentleman, being sent for by warrant from their Lordships, hath entered his appearance accordingly for his indemnity therein ; and is commanded to give his daily attendance on their Lordships, until he shall be licensed to the contrary.'

We need hardly doubt that the warrant for Marlowe's appearance was the result of Kyd's information against him, and that the purpose of the Council was to question him concerning his alleged heretical views as a means to further revelations about the seditious disturbances for which Kyd was in jail. Marlowe himself was not imprisoned, but on

¹ Dasent, *Acts of the Privy Council*, vol. xxiv, p. 244.

his arrival in London was granted the courtesies usual in the case of gentlemen brought before the Privy Council for the information of that body. Except that he was summoned by a warrant personally delivered by a court messenger instead of by a letter, his treatment is the same as that which the High Sheriff of Nottinghamshire received a few days later. Note the following Privy Council minutes :

‘ A letter to Mr. John Basset, High Sheriff of the County of Nottingham, requiring him to make his undelayed <repair> ¹ to the Court to answer such matters as should be objected against him before their Lordships.’ ²

‘ May 29. This day John Basset of Fladborough in the County of Nottingham, Esquire, High Sheriff of the said county, being required by their Lordships’ letters to make his personal repair to the Court to answer what should be objected against him before them, hath entered his appearance accordingly for his indemnity, and is willed to give his daily attendance on their Lordships until he shall be licensed to the contrary.’ ³

On 25 April the Council had written a letter to the Sheriff and Justices of the Peace in Nottinghamshire regarding ‘ a great and unlawful assembly of a multitude of persons that were gathered together in tumultuous and riotous manner to pull down a weir of Sir Thomas Stanhope’s at Shelford on the river of Trent on Easter Even (April 14) last past ’. They ultimately rebuked Basset and all the justices of peace of the county for ‘ wilful negligence and partiality ’. ⁴

There is another entry in the minutes of the Council for the same week in which again their purpose is clear enough. Under date of 24 May—the Thursday after Marlowe’s appearance—we read : ⁵

‘ This day Robert Throckmorton of Warboys in the county of Huntingdon, Esq., Thomas Daniell of Okenbury and John Morley of Ellington in the county of Huntingdon aforesaid, being sent for by their Lordships’ letters to answer such matters as should be objected against them before their Lordships, have

¹ This word has been inadvertently omitted by the scribe.

² Dasent, *ibid.*, p. 261.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 264.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 201 f., 267.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 255.

entered their appearance for their indemnity, and are enjoined not to depart, but to give their daily attendance on their Lordships, until they first have obtained license to the contrary.'

The explanation is found in a pamphlet published later in the year: 'The most strange and admirable discovery of the three witches of Warboys (John Samuel the father, Alice Samuel the mother, and Agnes Samuel their daughter), arraigned, convicted, and executed at the last assizes at Huntingdon for the bewitching of the five daughters of Robert Throckmorton, Esq.' This book was entered on the Stationers' Register on 30 June as 'the arraignment, judgment, and execution of three witches of Huntingdonshire, being recommended for matter of truth by Master Judge Ffenner'.¹

Robert Throckmorton and his companions were summoned as witnesses, not malefactors, and Marlowe, who received the same treatment, may be presumed to have been regarded in similar light.² It seems extravagant to suppose that he was in serious danger from the Privy Council's investigation. The Elizabethan authorities believed in orthodoxy as essential to the general stability of the government, and might be brutally unjust to reformers; but they rarely punished by more than rebuke the utterances of any man whose actual loyalty to the Queen was not (in their opinions) in serious doubt. Nor did they invite

¹ Arber, ii, 299.

² Many other entries to the same effect could be quoted from the Acts of the Privy Council. On 25 April Francis Fletcher of Stoke in Notts, gentleman, George Blunt of Ekington, Esq., and Nicholas Williamson of Sawley, Derbyshire, gentleman, were summoned by messengers with warrants just as Marlowe was and treated with similar courtesy when they arrived (Dasent, *ibid.*, pp. 205, 209). Note also the entry concerning the President of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, on 21 April, 1593: 'This day Mr. William Coale, Doctor, and President of Corpus Christi College of Oxenford, having been sent for by order from their Lordships and others of her Majesty's Privy Council, hath made his appearance accordingly and hath desired to have his appearance entered, and is notwithstanding enjoined not to depart without special license obtained from the Lords in that behalf' (Dasent, *ibid.*, p. 199). Dr. Cole was President of the college for thirty years (1568-1598); he had difficulties with the Fellows and was accused of mismanaging the college revenues. In 1598 he became Dean of Lincoln.

dangerous characters merely to come around for a chat at the Star Chamber, when their Lordships should be at leisure. For all his unseemly witticisms against the current faith, his remarks about the moral aspects of counterfeiting, and his conversational advocacy of the King of Scots, Marlowe was not politically-minded. He was by nature as much the reverse of the demagogue or inciter to mass-riot as of the religious innovator, and was one of the last men in London whom even his enemies could have suspected of pasting pro-British posters on the Dutch Churchyard wall. We have no reason to doubt that the Council knew this. Its two most influential members, Archbishop Whitgift and Lord Burghley, had signed the letter concerning Marlowe that was sent to Cambridge in 1587; and the fact of his guest-friendship with Thomas Walsingham, with which the Councillors were evidently well acquainted, must have weighed with them as a testimonial. It was the kind of testimonial that they took most seriously.

This is by no means to say that Marlowe was likely again to find the Privy Council willing to commend his life and character as they had done six years earlier. On the contrary, he seems to have gained a reputation which bordered on notoriety as a man of violent temper and, when among his intimates, of unrestrained iconoclastic speech. Wild and sometimes witty flippancies about religious matters, and some civil matters as well, were being reported against him—we must suppose with truth; and he was regarded by the ‘unco guid’ as one of the chief firebrands in the blaze of atheism which Sir Walter Raleigh was accused of fostering.¹

¹ This is doubtless what coloured Henry Chettle’s attitude to Marlowe in the preface to his *Kind-Heart’s Dream* (Dec. 1592), where he alludes to Greene’s references to Marlowe and Shakespeare: ‘About three months since died M. Robert Greene, leaving many papers in sundry booksellers’ hands, among other his Groatsworth of Wit, in which a letter written to divers play-makers is offensively by one or two of them taken. . . . With neither of them that take offence was I acquainted, and with one of them I care not if I never be.’ (The well-known apology to Shakespeare follows.) Gabriel Harvey mentions ‘Marlowe’s bravados’ as if well known (Harvey’s Works, ed. Grosart, ii, 115).

In the spring of 1594 a formal judicial investigation of this group was ordered and many depositions of witnesses were gathered ; but no penal action was taken against any one concerned. Nor is there adequate reason for supposing that penal action against Marlowe was contemplated in 1593.

Archbishop Whitgift, to be sure, cannot have been pleased if he read the information against Marlowe that a certain Richard Baines was moved to hand in about the time of the poet's death. It is an informal paper headed, 'A note containing the opinion of one Christopher Marly concerning his damnable judgment of religion and scorn of God's word'.¹ The general nature of this list of detached remarks ascribed to Marlowe is well enough known. The sayings include some of the common obscenities of free talk about the Bible, and some remarks about the present, such as that Sir Walter Raleigh's man Hariot could more than reproduce the miracles of Moses, that Marlowe intended with the aid of a prisoner in Newgate to counterfeit money,² and that Richard Cholmley had been converted by him to atheism.³ The greater number of the items, however, are shrewd critical observations, likely enough to have been uttered in the course of argument by an imprudent man interested in the philosophy of religion :

'That the Indians and many authors of antiquity' prove the erroneousness of the notion that Adam lived within six thousand years.

'That the first beginning of religion was only to keep men in awe.'⁴

'That if he were put to write a new religion, he would

¹ Brit. Mus. Harl. 6848, fol. 185-6 (old numbering, fol. 170, 171).

² This charge is scored through in the copy of the document made for official use, doubtless as irrelevant or obviously silly.

³ This was probably the most dangerous of Baines's charges. See pp. 64-66.

⁴ Danchin compares *Selimus* (Malone Soc. ed., 335 ff.) :

'these religious observations,
Only bug-beares to keepe the world in feare,
And make men quietly a yoake to beare.'

undertake both a more excellent and admirable method, and that all the New Testament is filthily written.’¹

‘That all the apostles were fishermen and base fellows, neither of wit nor worth ; that Paul only had wit, but he was a timorous fellow.’

Baines’s concluding paragraph shows that he was in earnest and gives a striking sketch of Marlowe as he appeared to those whom his rashness of talk offended :

‘These things with many other shall by good and honest witness be approved to be his opinions and common speeches, and that this Marlow doth not only hold them himself, but almost into every company he cometh he persuades men to atheism, willing them not to be afeard of bugbears and hobgoblins, and utterly scorning both God and His ministers : as I, Richard Baines, will justify and approve both by mine oath and the testimony of many honest men. And almost all men with whom he hath conversed any time will testify the same ; and, as I think, all men in Christianity ought to endeavour that the mouth of so dangerous a member may be stopped. He saith likewise that he hath quoted a number of contrarieties out of the Scripture which he hath given to some great men who in convenient time shall be named. When these things shall be called in question, the witness shall be produced.’

This paper is signed ‘Richard Baines’ and endorsed, in writing partially illegible,

B<a>y<n>s Marli < >
of his blasphemies.

Moreover, a copy of it was made, also preserved among the Harley papers in the British Museum,² which is endorsed,

Copie of Marloes
blasphemyes.
As sent to her H<ighness>.

The text of this version, prepared for the inspection of Elizabeth and her councillors, varies in only unimportant

¹ Written in filthy Greek and with bad narrative art (?).

² Harl. 6853, fol. 307, 308 (old numbering, fol. 320, 321).

details, but the heading, originally the same as in the original, has been lined through and replaced by another striking a note that was to be often repeated by those who mentioned Marlowe's death :

' A Note delivered on Whitsun Eve last of the most horrible blasphemies and damnable opinions uttered by Christofer Marly¹ who within three days after came to a sudden and fearful end of his life.'¹

The accusations of Baines, being gratuitous and not on oath, had, of course, no validity before a court of law ; but the authorities were evidently giving them some attention. A particular reason for this may be found in the words written in the margin of the official ' copy ', opposite the name of Richard Cholmley, who according to Baines had confessed that Marlowe's ' reasons ' had made him an atheist :² ' he is layd for '. Cholmley was, indeed, a person upon whom the police were very anxious to lay hands. On 19 March, two months before the summons to Marlowe, the Privy Council issued ' a warrant to George Cobham, one of the messengers of her Majesty's Chamber, to apprehend Richard Cholmeley and Richard Stronge and to bring them before their Lordships '.³ But Cholmley eluded the messenger and remained a fugitive till 28 June, when he was captured and committed to prison.

Fortunately we have, in the same volume of papers that contains the original draft of Baines's charges against Marlowe, two similarly itemized accusations against Cholmley.⁴ It is worth while to quote the first of these in full, to make clear the difference between the theoretical atheism of Marlowe and the very practical and objective applications of his reputed follower :

' Remembrances of words and matter against Ric. Cholmeley.

¹ The reviser first wrote : ' who since Whitsunday died a sudden and violent death ', and then changed it as above. See discussion, p. 67 f.

² Cf. Appendix, p. 99.

³ Dasent, *Acts of the Privy Council*, vol. xxiv, p. 130.

⁴ Harleian 6848, fol. 190, 191. Printed by Danchin, *Révue Germanique*, vol. ix (1913), p. 575 f.

'That he speaketh in general all evil of the <Privy> Council, saying that they are all atheists and Machiavellians, especially my Lord Admiral.

'That he made certain libellous verses in commendation of Papists and Seminary priests, very greatly inveighing against the state, among which lines this was one :

"Nor may the Prince deny that Papal crown."

'That he had a certain book (as he saith) delivered him by Sir Robert Cecil, of whom he giveth very scandalous reports : that he should incite him to consider thereof, and to frame verses and libels in the commendation of constant priests and virtuous recusants. This book is in custody and is called an Epistle of Comfort and is printed at Paris.

'That he rails at Mr. Topcliffe¹ and hath written another libel jointly against Sir Francis Drake and Justice Young,² whom he saith he will couple together because he hateth them alike.

'That when the mutiny happened after the Portingale voyage in the Strand, he said that he repented him of nothing more than that he had not killed my Lord Treasurer <Burghley> with his own hands, saying that he could never have done God better service. This was spoken in the hearing of Francis Clerke and many other soldiers.

'That he saith he doth entirely hate the Lord Chamberlain, and hath good cause so to do.

'That he saith and verily believeth that one Marlowe is able to show more sound reasons for atheism than any divine in England is able to give to prove divinity, and that Marloe told him that he hath read the atheist lecture to Sir Walter Raleigh and others.

'That he saith that he hath certain men corrupted by his persuasions who will be ready at all times and for all causes to swear whatsoever seemeth good to him, among whom is one Henry Younge and Jasper Borage³ and others.

'That he so highly esteemeth his own will and judgment that

¹ Richard Topcliffe, director of the Government's anti-Jesuit office. Not unjustly called 'a monster of iniquity'.

² Judge Richard Young, Whitgift's tool in religious persecutions.

³ Memoranda jotted on the back of the letter that accompanied these 'remembrances' include the notes, 'borage dangerous' and 'Younge taken and made an instrument to take the rest'. Miss Seaton (*Rev. of Engl. Studies*, July, 1929, p. 283) identifies this Young with 'Harry Young, son and heir of Mr. Young of Kent, worth 60*l.* a year', who had offered to assassinate the Queen.

he saith that no men are sooner deceived and abused than the Council themselves.

'That he can go beyond and cozen them as he list, and that if he make any complaint in behalf of the Queen, he shall not only be presently heard and entertained, but he will so urge the Council for money that without he have what he list he will do nothing.

'That being employed by some of her Majesty's Privy Council for the apprehension of Papists and other dangerous men he used as he saith to take money of them and would let them pass in spite of the Council.

'That he saith that William Parry¹ was hanged, drawn, and quartered but in jest; that he was a gross ass, overreached by cunning, and that in truth he never meant to kill the Queen more than himself had.'

Danchin thinks that these 'remembrances' against Cholmley were composed by Baines and are in the same handwriting as Baines's 'note' on Marlowe.² However this be, Cholmley was evidently—if half the sayings quoted against him were true—a dangerously treacherous and disloyal person, and a papist in his sympathies, so far as he was anything. The coupling of Marlowe's name with his would naturally have brought the former into suspicion, but there is no kind of connection between Marlowe's type of free-thinking and the malignant personalities ascribed to Cholmley; nor is it easily conceivable that a man with the latter's bias in politics and religion can have been a member of the group around Raleigh. The simplest explanation is that Baines was aware of what Cholmley was reported to have said in praise of Marlowe's skill in atheistic dialectic, and made this the basis of his assertion that Marlowe had perverted Cholmley.

Concerning Richard Baines little has hitherto been discovered, except the somewhat surprising sequel to his self-righteous indictment of sinners, evidenced by the title of the following ballad in the Stationers' Register:

¹ A spy and double-dealer, executed in 1585 on a rather vague charge of plotting the Queen's death.

² I do not think the handwriting is the same.

‘ December 6, 1594 Thomas Gosson
William Blackwell } Entered for their copy
under the wardens’ hands a ballad entitled *the woeful lamenta-
tion of Richard Banes, executed at Tyburn the 6 of December,
1594.*¹

However, the minutes of the ‘parliament’ of the Middle Temple record the admission on 21 May, 1582, of ‘Mr. Richard, son and heir of Richard Baynes of Shrewsbury, gent.’ The next year a Richard Baynes of London, gent., aged 17, matriculated at Oxford (8 Feb. 1582/3) as a member of St. John’s College, and left without a degree. The Acts of the Privy Council note a claim, 31 December, 1588, against Richard Baines, son of ‘Richard Banes, merchant of the Staple, deceased’, for alleged fraud; and on 2 February, 1588/9, ‘Richard Baynes of the Middle Temple in London, gentleman’, is bound to make his appearance before the Council. These entries describe a man two years younger than the poet, well connected, but of evidently dubious character, who might have been not unsuited to play the Judas to the ‘atheists’ club’ and point the moral for a Tyburn ballad.²

It is evident that when Baines drew up his list of Marlowe’s impieties, he supposed the latter to be living, and there is nothing in his paper to indicate that he imagined the authorities to be already apprised of the poet’s irregularities.³ Yet if the note was indeed delivered on Whitsun Eve (2 June), as the revised heading of the ‘copy’ states, the man accused was not only dead but buried, and the coroner’s jury had made their inquisition.⁴ Marlowe was slain, not

¹ Arber, ii, 316. The ballad seems to be irrecoverably lost.

² For further details indicating that these records refer to the same person, and for Richard Baynes of Cambridge, see Appendix X.

³ Note Baines’s last sentence, quoted on page 63. It is to be observed that Marlowe, who was certainly a familiar character to all men of letters and men about town at this period, is referred to, both in the Baines papers and in the ‘remembrances’ about Cholmley, as though he were a person unknown to the officers of justice: ‘one Christopher Marly’, ‘this Marlow’, ‘one Marlowe’.

⁴ Danchin is incorrect in dating Whitsunday, 1593, 27 May (*Revue Germanique*, x, p. 54). It fell on 3 June.

'since Whitsunday', but on the Wednesday before. Even if Baines could be supposed to have delivered his paper on the Saturday following the Deptford tragedy in ignorance of what had happened three days earlier, it is nearly impossible to believe that the Queen's police can have been so uninformed as to prepare and file their useless official copy at that date. It must be presumed, therefore, that the reference to Whitsun Eve and Whitsunday were erroneously added at some later time by the person who revised the heading of the 'copy', and it follows that we have no means of dating these papers precisely.¹ Possibly the charges of Baines were made before the Privy Council's summons sent to Marlowe on 18 May, and combined with Kyd's oral testimony and the hue and cry after Cholmley in procuring that action.

¹ The marginal memorandum about Cholmley being 'layd for' would naturally date from before 28 June, when Cholmley was captured.

CHAPTER V

DEPTFORD

MARLOWE'S personal appearance at the Star Chamber on 20 May relieved him of the penalty for contempt of the Privy Council's summons. That day was Sunday, and on the next Penry's trial began at King's Bench. It may be doubted whether the Privy Council was at leisure to question the poet on either of these days.¹ The proviso requiring him to give 'daily attendance' till licensed to the contrary was, as we have seen, the regular formality in the case of witnesses not kept under guard. It meant that the Council should be able to ensure his presence within twenty-four hours when it might be desired. Whether in practice it necessitated the witness's actual appearance at the Star Chamber in Westminster day by day is very doubtful.²

¹ The Council met, at the Star Chamber, on 23 May (Wednesday), 25 May (Friday), and 29 May (Tuesday).

² The discipline to which persons in Marlowe's situation were subjected at this time seems to have been of the laxest kind. Consider this weak-kneed letter which the three most powerful men in the Council (the Archbishop, Lord Burghley, and Lord Keeper Puckering) sent on 31 May to Mr. John Hall and Mistress Ann Roles (Dasent, *Acts*, vol. xxiv, p. 277): 'For so much as you have very contemptuously disobeyed our order by your departure into the country from the court without our leave, where you were by several directions commanded from us to attend till our leisure might serve for the hearing and ordering the matters in controversy betwixt Mr. William Cave and you, and also during your being in London did not give such attendance on us as became you, but did follow your private businesses in London, Mr. Cave still attending on us at our meeting in council: These shall be to let you know that we cannot but take your neglect of duty towards us very offensively, and do hereby require and charge you (if haply Mr. Cave and you shall not in the mean while fall to agreement among your selves) to make your undelayed repair to the court, to be personally before us at the council board at such certain day and time as Mr. Cave or his sufficient deputy shall appoint, to th' end you may be both present at the hearing and proceeding in that cause; and thereof not to fail as you will answer your former and latter default at your perils'. A more outrageous case of contumacy is mildly rebuked in a letter of

Let us assume, in the absence of evidence to the contrary, that Marlowe took the order with some literalness, and decided that it was impracticable to return to Scadbury, twelve miles on the other side of London. Deptford, however, was but three miles from the city in the direction of Scadbury, and here, it is supposed, the poet had relatives.¹ Within London itself the plague was increasing at such a rate as to make it unreasonable for anyone to lodge there who could find quarters outside.

In any case we hear no more of Marlowe's appearance before the Privy Council. During the ten days following May 20 there is no mention of him in the minutes of that body, or elsewhere. In the course of time Kyd was released from prison and so far exonerated (in his own opinion at least) as to justify him in appealing to the Lord Keeper Puckering for a certificate of character to his former patron. In the well-known letter to Puckering, Kyd minimizes his association with the dead Marlowe and insists upon the absurdity of supposing that he, Kyd, 'should love, or be familiar friend with, one so irreligious', challenging Puckering to verify this point by inquiry of those whom Marlowe had 'conversed withal'; namely, Hariot, Warner, Roydon, 'and some stationers <book-sellers> in Paul's Churchyard'.² He concludes by assuring the lords of the Privy Council how willingly he would reveal the atheists and rioters, 'if I knew any whom I could justly accuse'.

Kyd's unsigned note, discovered by Professor F. K. Brown in 1921, indicates that the Lord Keeper had taken him at

23 May (Dasent, *ibid.*, p. 249), to Mr. Francis Kellaway, who, 'being at the house at the time of the messenger's repair thither with our said letters, would neither speak with him yourself nor suffer the letters to be received. These shall be, therefore, to require and charge you, all delays and excuses set apart, forthwith to make your undelayed repair to the court.'

¹ In 1536 Richard Thrower conveyed a tenement in Deptford to William Marlowe (Hasted, *History of Kent*, ed. 1886, p. 109).

² Presumably Edward Blount and his associates. Blount, born in the same year as Marlowe, became a freeman of the Stationers' Company in 1588. He issued books from a shop 'over against the Great North Door' of St. Paul's, and from the Black Bear, St. Paul's Churchyard. The first book entry to him in the Stationers' Register is dated 1594.

his word and invited him to be more specific both about Marlowe's atheistic beliefs and about the important men who had kept the latter company.¹ Kyd replies evasively that it grieves his conscience to think of Marlowe and his opinions, and that he can 'particularize' few of the dead man's great friends. He then gives a short description of Marlowe's atheist talk rather similar to the fuller one by Baines, repeats the reasons he had for breaking off personal relations, and then adds a strange and rather inconsistent final sentence :

'He would persuade with men of quality to go unto the K<ing> of Scots, whither I hear Roydon is gone, and where if he had lived, he told me when I saw him last he meant to be.'

There is much here that requires explanation. It is exceedingly queer to find Raleigh's intimate associate accused of being a recruiting agent for King James. The report that Roydon had gone to Scotland seems baseless. Chapman's *Shadow of Night*, licensed in 1593 and published in 1594, has a long dedication to Roydon (as has also his *Ovid's Banquet of Sense*, 1595) which is far from suggesting that the latter is an expatriate. Kyd's last clause is the most interesting, since it may imply that Marlowe and he had met more recently than his other guarded allusions admit : 'where if he had lived, he told me when I saw him last he meant to be'.

The syntax is too clumsy to convey any clear idea, but the probable meaning is : Marlowe told me when I saw him last that he meant to go to Scotland, (and would have done so) if he had lived. It is not likely that Marlowe had any such real intention ; but if he were living at Deptford, a common port of departure for Scotland, he might have voiced his disgust with the plague or the Privy Council by words to this effect. If he said anything of the sort to

¹ Dr. Tannenbaum would date the newly discovered note earlier than the signed letter of Kyd to Puckering. I think the sequence is the reverse.

Kyd, which the latter could report as a purpose frustrated by death, it is most likely to have been after he left Scadbury on 20 May; and this would imply that Marlowe visited Kyd in prison. If that were so, we must conclude that Kyd exaggerated his alienation from his old colleague in his official account of their relations.

We come at length to the last day of Marlowe's life, concerning which we know more than of any other, thanks to Professor Hotson, though still too little for a perfectly clear understanding of what happened.

It was Wednesday, the thirtieth of May. On the day before the unfortunate Penry had been hanged, on very short notice, at St. Thomas a Watering,¹ the Surrey place of execution, a bare mile from Deptford. Perhaps Marlowe knew nothing of this atrocity, which was carried out in hugger-mugger with only a handful of spectators. It is probable, in any case, that he had no particular interest in the fate of his Cambridge contemporary, except as it might illustrate the ugly side of intolerance.

Marlowe himself was free, and apparently quite free of care. Either the requirement of daily attendance upon the Privy Council had been removed or he chose rightly to regard it as a technicality without binding force; for on this day he did not go to Westminster, and no one suggested that he was blameworthy for the omission. Instead, he went to the tavern of Eleanor Bull, widow, in Deptford Strand, on the open square beside the Royal Shipyard—invited thither to a feast, as Vaughan recorded in 1600, by 'one named Ingram'.

This, the legal documents show, was Ingram Frizer, who, as Mr. Hotson has discovered,² was at the time a protégé or agent of Mr. Thomas Walsingham. The two men may, therefore, both have been staying with Walsingham at Scadbury, and may have ridden or walked over for a party

¹ Chaucer's 'watering of Seint Thomas' (*Prologue*, line 826), two miles on the road from London to Canterbury.

² *Death of Marlowe*, pp. 48–50.

of pleasure. At ten a.m. they were at the tavern in the company of Nicholas Skeres and Robert Poley. Skeres was a servant of the Earl of Essex, several times imprisoned as a seditious person—notably in the Essex uprising of 1601. At this time ¹ he and Frizer were working together in several money-lending schemes for cheating foolish borrowers, with the connivance, it would appear, of Walsingham himself.² His beginnings were doubtless lower still, for in 1585 the name of Nicholas Skeeres was included in the list, sent by the Recorder of London to Lord Burghley, of ‘Masterless men and cutpurses, whose practice is to rob gentlemen’s chambers and artificers’ shops in and about London’.³

Robert Poley was an adventurer, spy, and jailbird of interesting proportions. In 1583 he had been committed to the Marshalsea prison by Sir Francis Walsingham, in whose household he was nevertheless living a couple of years later as an attendant upon Walsingham’s daughter, the wife of Sir Philip Sidney. About this time he was figuring as the villain in a scandalous elopement case involving the wife of William Yeomans, which led to divorce proceedings and much testimony to Poley’s discredit.⁴

Poley apparently started his career as a Roman Catholic. He had been married by a seminary priest, to a Mistress Watson (whom he neglected shockingly). In 1585 he got himself employed as a secret agent by the Catholics plotting the release of Mary Queen of Scots, and simultaneously as a spy by Walsingham, who was striving to outplot them. He had an important share in betraying Babington’s con-

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 45 f.

² We do not know all the details, but it seems that Frizer was a clever and insinuating knave whom Walsingham assisted, with characteristic Elizabethan cynicism, rather as Lovewit in Jonson’s *Alchemist* patronizes the swindles of Jeremy his butler.

³ E. K. Chambers in *Times Literary Supplement*, 21 May, 1925, p. 352. Miss Seaton (*Rev. of Engl. Studies*, July, 1929, p. 280 f.) finds that Skeres was also concerned in the Babington plot of 1586.

⁴ F. S. Boas, ‘Robert Poley: An Associate of Marlowe’, *Nineteenth Century and After*, Oct., Dec., 1928. Also *Marlowe and his Circle*, 1929, by the same; and Miss Seaton, *loc. cit.*, p. 277 ff.

spiracy in 1586, and took callous advantage of the faith of that silly young man.¹ He boasted of his influence with Walsingham and of his skill in prevarication, saying, 'I will swear and forswear myself rather than I will accuse myself to do me any harm'. He was imprisoned in the Tower of London for six weeks in 1586 and for two periods aggregating twenty-seven weeks in 1587-88;² but was notwithstanding later given employment as a messenger to and from the courts abroad, and on the very day of Marlowe's death had in his keeping letters from The Hague to the Court, then at Nonesuch in Surrey.³ In 1600 he was still alive, but in discredit, writing begging letters to Sir Robert Cecil and offering to produce a book against the Jesuit propaganda.

All three of Marlowe's companions at the inn—Frizer, Skeres, and Poley—were men of some social standing and had influential backers; but the poet had certainly been in far better company at the atheists' club. The least sinister of the three was Frizer, who, though he lied and cheated like the rest, went to jail much less frequently and was apparently not a man of violent ways. The next year (July 1, 1594) he allowed himself to be forcibly driven out of a house he had acquired by lease, and was content to sue the trespasser for damages, which he secured in court, together with repossession of his house. In the swindling contracts with the Woodleffs, discovered by Mr. Hotson, Skeres was the active party, bringing the victim to Frizer, whose cue was evidently a timid suavity. As Mr. Hotson has also shown, Frizer was the confidential agent through whom in 1603 a valuable lease of royal land for the benefit of Lady Walsingham was negotiated, and he ended his days at Eltham in 1627, as a churchwarden.⁴

¹ C. Read, *Mr. Secretary Walsingham*, ii, 383; iii, 8, 21-22, 25-26, 31, 46.

² E. de Kalb, *Nineteenth Century and After*, Nov. 1928, pp. 715-716.

³ E. de Kalb, *Times Literary Supplement*, 21 May, 1925.

⁴ E. de Kalb, *ibid.*, p. 351. Letters of administration for his estate are at Somerset House (R. H. E. Hill, *Index of Wills Proved, 1620-29*). 'Mrs. Ingeram Freser' was buried also at Eltham, 17 Aug. 1627 (Hasted, *History of Kent*, ed. 1886, p. 212).

The story which the coroner's jury believed is twice told with elaborate detail in the now famous inquisition and pardon that Mr. Hotson gave the world in 1925. It runs as follows :

Frizer, Marlowe, Skeres, and Poley met together (*insimul convenerunt*) at about ten on the morning of May 30 in a room in the house of Widow Bull at Deptford Strand. There they whiled away the time (*moram gesserunt*) and lunched (*prandebant*), and after lunch were together in quiet fashion and strolled in the garden belonging to the house till six o'clock, when they returned from the garden into their room and there had supper (*cenam*) together in like manner. After supper Frizer and Marlowe began to quarrel, because—as the jury reported—they could not agree about the payment of the reckoning.

There is nothing unreasonable in this account. Vaughan understood that Ingram (Frizer) had invited Marlowe thither to a feast, and we may imagine that the poet so understood it. But it was the experience of others who accepted Frizer's offer of kindness in matters involving money to find reason for much wrath in the sequel. Possibly in this case also more was concerned than the reckoning. Feasts at inns were frequently the concomitant of business transactions. Skeres and Frizer were at this same time engaged in a quite outrageous skin-game at the expense of Drue Woodleff, and they may have attempted on the present occasion to exploit Marlowe's financial necessities for their advantage.

The coroner's report gives a clear statement of the positions of the four men after supper : Marlowe lying on a couch near the supper table ; Frizer sitting with his back to the couch and facing the table ; while Skeres and Poley wedged him in on the two sides.¹ These last two may have been playing the everlasting Elizabethan game of tables or back-

¹ All three were presumably seated on a long form, or backless bench, drawn close to the table. There were practically no chairs in Elizabethan inns.

gammon,¹ with Frizer, sitting between, watching them, while he exchanged words over his shoulder with Marlowe.

Then, the coroner was told, 'Christoferus Morley' suddenly and with malice prepense unsheathed the dagger which the said Ingram was wearing at his back (after common Elizabethan habit) and jabbed twice at his head, inflicting trivial cuts two inches long and a quarter-inch deep. Frizer thereupon feared to be slain, and found himself (if the deponents were veracious) in a position highly unpleasant to a peace-loving usurer. With his legs under the supper table and Skeres and Poley on his two sides, he could, in truth, not rapidly withdraw from the poet's demonstrations. Perforce, therefore, he grappled with him, to get the dagger out of his hands, and there happened a chance similar to the one by which Laertes is killed in *Hamlet*. Marlowe received, by means of Frizer's dagger which he had been holding in his own hand, a wound over the right eye, estimated by the coroner to be an inch wide and two deep, and died of it 'then and there instantly', presumably before Skeres and Poley could get themselves turned around and out of their seats. The situation is easier to visualize if one thinks of Frizer as completely panic-stricken, clutching at the dagger with the desperation of a cornered rat.

Dr. Tannenbaum denies, on good surgical authority, that the particular wound described would cause instant death, and thinks that Marlowe was assassinated at the instigation of Sir Walter Ralegh.² The assassination theory has indeed been broached in many ways since the coroner's record came to light. The doubtful character of Marlowe's three associates and the strange story they told predispose the modern reader to believe the worst. However, I do not think that the allegations upon which Frizer secured his pardon can

¹ Vaughan stated that Ingram was 'playing at tables' when Marlowe tried to stab him with a poniard. This may, however, rest upon a misunderstanding of the careful emphasis upon the position of the supper table (*mensa*) in the coroner's jury report.

² *The Assassination of Christopher Marlowe*, 1928.

be convincingly disputed. Marlowe did in truth have a reputation for rashness in a rash age. Kyd—after his death, to be sure—speaks of his ‘rashness in attempting sudden privy injuries to men’, as though it were well known; and Frizer seems to have been the sort of person against whom it would be easy to attempt homicide, but not at all the type that would plan a murder or be selected to carry one out.

Frizer made no attempt to escape, and undoubtedly went to prison. On the second day after, Friday, 1 June, Marlowe was buried in the old church of St. Nicholas beside the royal docks at Deptford, and an entry (not discovered till 1820) made in the Burial Register:

‘Christopher Marlow slaine by ffrancis <sic> ffrezer; the
1 of June.’¹

On the same day the coroner’s jury held its inquiry, resulting in the verdict of justifiable homicide.

It has been alleged by those who would discredit the official story of Marlowe’s death that the coroner’s jury was deceived by a lying tale, or that they purposely winked at Frizer’s escape from justice. The tale, however, must be allowed to hold together pretty well. Since the death had occurred within the ‘verge’,—that is, within twelve miles of the sovereign’s person—it was not a local coroner who presided at the inquest, but William Danby, Coroner of the Queen’s Household, who, we should suppose, knew what the law required. There is no reason to believe that he neglected to secure confirmation of the evidence of Poley, Skeres, and Frizer from the people of the inn.²

Thereafter things took their natural course. On 15 June

¹ A Memorial Brass to Marlowe was erected in St. Nicholas’ Church in 1919.

² The inquisition simply tells what the coroner’s jury swear to be the facts. We are not informed what was the precise course of their investigations or what witnesses they examined, and have no reason to assume, as Dr. Tannenbaum does (*Assassination*, p. 40 f.), that they relied solely upon what Frizer, Poley, and Skeres told them. The burial notice was discovered by James Broughton (see *Gentleman’s Magazine*, Jan. 1830, p. 6), Frizer’s name being misread as ‘Archer’.

a chancery writ was addressed to Danby, inquiring formally whether Frizer had committed the homicide in self-defence and not feloniously, or with malice aforethought. On 28 June the Queen, being at Oatlands near Kew, issued her formal pardon to Frizer, who doubtless expected that nothing more would be said on the subject.

However, the event made a stir, concerning which it is not unlikely that Frizer went to his grave in total ignorance. Puritan writers could not but see in it the obvious hand of God raised against atheistical playwrights. So Thomas Beard, Francis Meres, and the least ill-informed of them, William Vaughan, created between 1597 and 1600 a myth that has hardly yet lost its hold on popular imagination, concerning an atheist scholar gipsy, 'a playmaker and a poet of scurrility', who 'not only in word blasphemed the Trinity, but also (as it is credibly reported) wrote books¹ against it'. 'But see what a hook the Lord put in the nostrils of this barking dog!' According to Beard, as he purposed to stab one whom he owed a grudge unto with his dagger, the other party so avoided the stroke that he stabbed his own dagger into his own head, the manner of his death being so terrible—'for he even cursed and blasphemed to his last gasp, and together with his breath an oath flew out of his mouth'—that it was not only a manifest sign of God's judgment, but also a horrible and fearful terror to all that beheld him. According to Meres, he was stabbed to death by a 'bawdy serving man, a rival of his in his lewd love'. And according to Vaughan, Ingram stabbed him into the eye in such sort that, his brains coming out at the dagger's point, he shortly after died. 'Thus did God, the true

¹ To such measure had grown the three pages of unitarian speculation which Kyd affirmed to be Marlowe's. Hunter (*Chorus Vatum*, 374) quotes a manuscript note in Heber's copy of *Hero and Leander*, 1629, not now accessible: 'Feb. 10, 1640. Mr. Alscrit saies that Marloe was an Atheist, and wrote a book against the Scriptures, how that it was all one man's making; and would have printed it, but it would not be suffered to be printed.' The same dubious record affirms that he converted to atheism a friend at Dover named Phineaux (? Fineux).

executioner of divine justice, work the end of impious atheists.'

As we learn more of his life and read his works with better understanding, we close our ears to these strident sounds, and catch the harmony of the undertone that still echoes in the references of his fellow-poets to Marlowe's life and death.

While Frizer was suing for his pardon, George Peele was writing a poem, *The Honour of the Garter*, as a congratulatory gift to the Earl of Northumberland on his installation as knight of that order on 26 June, 1593. At the close of his prologue, after mentioning Sidney, Sir Francis Walsingham, and other noble souls who have left the unworthy earth, Peele appended an invocation that has a note of fresh poignancy yet :

' Unhappy in thy end,
Marley, the Muses' darling! for thy verse
Fit to write passions for the souls below!'

Of the continuators of *Hero and Leander*, Henry Petowé is for once made poetic as he also addresses the dead shepherd :

' Marlo, late mortal, now framed all divine,
What soul more happy than that soul of thine!
Live still in heaven thy soul, thy fame on earth!

But Marlo, still-admired Marlo's gone
To live with Beauty in Elysium.'

And George Chapman for once is made humble, as he urges his own genius—what he calls his 'most strangely-intellectual fire'—to

' find th' eternal clime
Of his free soul, whose living subject stood
Up to the chin in the Pierean flood,
And drunk to me half this Musæan story,
Inscribing it to deathless memory¹ :

¹ Chapman affects a belief in some telepathic agency, inciting him to complete *Hero and Leander*. His dedication to Lady Walsingham speaks of 'being drawne by strange instigation to employ some of my serious time in so trifeling a subiect'.

Confer with it and make my pledge as deep,
That neither's draught be consecrate to sleep.'

It is nobly prayed, but the powers granted only half his prayer. The rest the winds dispersed in empty air.

Speaking of Hero, J. M.¹ thinks of 'kind Kit Marlowe', who,

'if death not prevent him,
Shall write her story: love such art hath lent him';

and Nashe mentions Hero also, recalling Musaeus 'and a diviner Muse than him, Kit Marlowe'.² A decade later, when Nashe too was gone, Dekker thinks of Marlowe as first among a jovial group in the Elysian 'Fields of Joy', where 'Marlow, Greene, and Peele had got under the shades of a large vine, laughing to see Nash, that was but newly come to their college'.³ Years later still, Heywood also remembers the companionable side of his personality as well as his brilliance:

'Marlo, renown'd for his rare art and wit,
Could ne'er attain beyond the name of Kit:.'⁴

and Drayton, characterizing Marlowe's genius with great felicity, uses words which, perhaps better than any others, make us see the man:

'Neat Marlowe, bathed in the Thespian springs,
Had in him those brave translunary things
That your first poets had; his raptures were
All air and fire, which made his verses clear:
For that fine madness still he did retain
Which rightly should possess a poet's brain.'⁵

¹ *The New Metamorphosis*, ca. 1600. Dr. J. H. H. Lyon identifies the author inconclusively as Jervis (or Gervase) Markham, born in 1568.

² *Lenten Stuff*, 1599; McKerrow's ed., iii, 195. Nashe's allusions to Marlowe are all notably friendly. For his elegy on the poet's death, now unfortunately lost, see Introduction to *Dido*, post, p. 121 *et seq.*

³ *A Knight's Conjuring*, 1607.

⁴ *Hierarchie of the Blessed Angels*, 1635.

⁵ To Henry Reynolds, of *Poets and Poesie*, 1627, p. 206.

Behind the poet there stands always the Elizabethan man, certainly one of the notable personalities of his age. To his enemies he was a terror and a grisly warning, to his friends kind Kit. The issue is not yet balanced, and will never be by force of reason and historical research—though Marlowe's fame has profited mightily by these things in recent years. Formal biography is in this instance more than usually futile, and the appeal of Marlowe's poetry more than usually intuitive. Numberless readers must have paralleled the experience which J. R. Lowell describes :

‘ With him I grew acquainted during the most impressible and receptive period of my youth. He was the first man of genius I had ever really known, and he naturally bewitched me. What cared I that they said he was a deboshed fellow ? nay, an atheist ? To me he was the voice of one singing in the desert, of one who had found the water of life for which I was panting, and was at rest under the palms. How can he ever become to me as other poets are ? ’ ¹

This is finely said, but quite the aptest words to describe the appreciation of Marlowe are those which are most universally remembered when his name is mentioned :

‘ Dead Shepherd, now I find thy saw of might,
“ Who ever loved that loved not at first sight ? ” ’

¹ *The Old English Dramatists*, 1892, p. 34.

APPENDIXES

I

WILL OF RICHARD MARLEY, 1521

(From *Consistory Register*, Canterbury, vol. 13, fol. 61. Italicized letters are omitted or indicated by marks of abbreviation; words in angular brackets have been scored through in the original. The original division of lines is retained.)

lxj

Marley

Jn the name of our Lorde god Amen The xijth day
of the Monthe of June in the yere of our lord god $\frac{1}{m}$ CCCCCxxj^{mo}
J Richard Marley of the parisshe of the holy Crosse of *Canterbury*
beyng of hoole mynde and in good memory make and ordeygn
thys my *present* testament in forme folowyng that ys to
sey ffurst J bequeth my soule to almyghty god to *our* blessyd
lady and to All the holy Company of hevyn my body to
be buryed in the Churche yerd of the *parysshe* aforesayd
a fore the Crusyfyx of our lorde as nygh the *commyn*g Jn
of the North dore there as *conueniently* *can* be Jtem J
bequeth to the hyght Aulter of thesame Church for my
tythes and oblacons forgotten or by me necclygently *with*holden
ffyve shylllynges Jtem J bequeth toward the mayntenyn
of the Brothered of the holy Crosse in the same Church
v^s Jtem J bequeth to three Aulterres in the seide Church thre
Aulter<s> Clothes paynted *with* the pyctour of the holy Crosse
Jtem J wyll that myne Executors shall Cause to be gylt well
And workemanly the Cruchyfyx of *our* lord *with* the Mary and
John Standyng vppon the porch of the seyde North dore
Jtem J bequeth A Taper of ij pounce of wax to bren the
space of a yere before the pyctoures of our lady of pyte and
seint Erasmus in the foreseid Church Jtem J bequeth toward
the setting vpp of a newe Rodelofte in the same Church v^s
Jtem J wyll ther be doon by myn Executors and there assigneys
in the seyde Church of the holy Crosse for my soule & all Cristen
soules att *euery* day of my fforthefare Monethys mynde and
xij Monethys mynde a dryrge and a Trentall of massys

and v^s in money to be geuyn to powre people at euery of the seyd dayes Also J geve & bequeth to my moder my Gowne ffurred *with* whyte lambe Jtem J bequeth to euery house of ffryeres *within* The Cyte of Canterbury v^s to pray specyally <of> for my soule to be paied to euery of theym *within* a yere nexte after my descease Also J geve and bequeth to Crystofer my Son my best fetherbed *with* my best Trannson two of my best pyllowes thre peyer of my best Shetes my best Couerlett *with* my best hangyng Aboute my bedd Also

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J bequeth to the same Crystofer my son towoo of my brasse pottes nexte the best my lesser water Chafer of Brasse oon of my threfootyd Chaferres of brasse oon of my newe Cawdrons iij Candylstykkes of laton a pewter Salseler vj pewter platerres vj pewter dysshes and vj Sawcerres of pewter togeder *with* my best Table & my best cheire to be delyuered truly by myn executors or there asseigneys to the seid Crystofer when he shall com to the full age of xxj^{ti} yeres And yf he dye before the seid age to be dyssposed by myn executors after there dyscrecon Jtem J wyll haue an honest secular preste shall syng for my soule my ffathers soule my ffrendes soules that J am most bounden to pray for & all Cresten soules in the seid Church of the holy Crosse the space of oon holle yere as conueny-
ent

as may be after my decease and he to haue for hys Salaryes wagys ten markes Starlyng Jtem J bequeth to my Suster Colphall oon Cowe whyte and Redde to be delyuered Jmmediatly after my decease Jtem J bequeth to my Cosyn Agnes padeam oon of my best Cawdirons and a noble of money to her mariage Jtem J bequeth to Margery my wyffes Suster a Blankett a Materasse a Couerlett a peire of Shetes a plater a pewter dysshe a Sawcer of pewter a Candylstyk of laton a Spytt and a lytell Chyst of all thys *parcelles* whych shall please my wyff to geve her Jtem J wyll there be geuyn by myn Executors to poure people xxv peire of sengyll solyd Shoose soon after my decease Jtem Jtem J bequeth to euery of Bykerson & William Bett my godssones viij d Item J bequeth to Alice Biker

my sengyll blew Gowne a peire of Shetes An olde materas & a Couerlett suche as my wyff may spare and to her Chylde my petycotte Jtem J bequeth to my Brother Thomas Brooke my best Jakett my best hatte and my best Capp Jtem J bequeth

to Richard my *seruante* my furred Jakett And to William my *seruante* my olde Dublet and my worst capp Item to Thomas Noble my *seruante* my ledder Coote Item J bequeth to olde ffader John that kepith my Tanhous my best hoses Item J wyll that all my Stoore of ledder and Berke of my Tanne house shalbe sold be Thomas <Colphollk> Colpholl my Brother in lawe to the best pryce that he can or may at <conueyn> conuenient tyme After my Decease And of

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the money therof *commyn*g J geve and bequeth vnto the seid Crystofer my Sonne ten poundes to be delyuered to hym by my seid <money commyn> Brother Colpholl or hys assygneys whan he *commyn*th to hys seid age of xxjth yeres and thesame Thomas Colpholl to haue the Custodie of thesame money tyll thesame age And the Residue of the seid money *commyn*g to be to the true contentacon and payement of my Dettes and bequethes Accordyng to thys my testament and last wyll And yf the seid Crystofer my son dye *within* the seid age then the seid money to be bestowed by the same Thomas for the helthe of my soule *after* hys dyscrecon Item J bequeth vnto Maister Man for hys good counsell to be gevyn to myn executors in executyng of thys my testament And last wyll xx^s Item J bequeth to my seid Moder her fuell of my Tanne as she hath had Alweyes of me in tymes past Also J geve and bequeth vnto Alice my wyff All my Residue of Stuff of housold & Catell afore not bequeth to her for euer. Also J wyll that my executoures shall take vpp my dettes ffavorably soo that my dettoures put into my seid executors good suertie for the paiement therof After the dyscrecon of myn executors Also J wyll that yf there be eny maner of *persone* can truly Aske or clayme eny dutie or complayne of any Jniury or wrong don to theym be me in my lyfe that they & euery of <he> theym be truly recompensyd therfor by the dyscrescion of myn executors And moreouer of thys my *present* testament J make and And ordeign the seid Alice my wyff And the foreseid Thomas <Cll> Colpholl my Brother in lawe myne executors and J bequeth to thesame Thomas Colpholl for hys labour Aboute the *premisses* foure poundes in money And J make and ordeign Thomas ffowle ouersear of the same my testament And J geve & bequeth to thesame Thomas ffowle for hys labour Aboute the *premisses* thre poundes

in money Thys witnesse Maister Suppriour of Sent Gregoryes ¹
 Thomas Harlesey Thomas Bett & other #

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Thys ys the Last e wyll of me the said Richard
 Marley made the day & yere aboueseid And in the xiiijth yere
 of the Reygn of our souereyn lord kyng henry the viijth &c
 vppon the dysposicon of All my landes And tenementes with All &
 synguler ther appurtenances the whiche J haue Aswell within
 the Cite

of Canterbury as within the Counte of Kent ffurst J wyll that my
 ffeoffes after my deceasse shall suffer Alice my wyff to haue
 & occupie my tenement that J nowe dwell in vnto tyme Cristofer
 my Sonne com to the age of xxj^{ti} yeres And yf yt happen the
 seid Alice my wyf After my descese <shall> to mary Ageyn that
 then J wyll that Thomas Colpholl my Brother in lawe and
 Thomas ffowle or there assigeneys shalbe take & lett oute to
 fferme the said tenement with thappurtenances to the moste
 profett they

can or <mary> may And the money therof commyng by theym
 to be Receyved & kepte to the oonly vse & behove of the seid
 Cristofer my Sonne tyll the same Cristofer my Sonne com to
 the same age of xxj^{ti} yeres And att thesame Age of xxj^{ti} yeres
 J wyll

that my seid ffeoffes shall enfeof my seid Sonne of and Jn
 the seid tenement with thappurtenances To haue & to hold to
 thesame

Cristofer & to the heirez of here [sic] body lafully begoten
 And yf

yt happen the same Cristofer to descese withoute Jssue of hys
 body

lafully begoten As god forbed that then J wyll that the
 foreseid tenement with thappurtenances shall Remayne to
 Margarete

Colpholl my Syster & to the heires of her body lafully be
 goten And yf yt happen the same Margaret my Syster
 to dyscesse withoute yssue of her body lafully begoten that
 then J wyll that the hole yerely yssues & profettes of thesame
 tenement with thappurtenances shall goo & Remayn to the
 Brothered

¹ The Priory of St. Gregory was an Austin Canons house. In 1511
 the Subprior was Walter Canterbury. Cf. *Victoria History of Kent*, II,
 157-9.

of Johns holden & kept *within* the *parysshe* Church of the holy Crosse of Canterbury for *euer* vnder thys condicon that the wardens

of the seid Brothered for the tyme beyng shall kepe or cause to be kept in the seid Church of the holy Crosse myn Obyte that ys to sey a dirige & ffyve massys for my Soule my ffather & mother Soules & all Cristen soules yerely for *euer* Also J wyll that yf <yt> myn executors shall paie or cause to be paid to my Moder kateryn Marley *euery* weke wekely Duryng All the lyfe of thesame kateryn my Moder Six pens of lafull money of Englund And J wyll that yf yt *happen* thesame myn executors to make defaute of thesame paiement of vj^d

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wekely in forme aforeseid that then yt shalbe lefull to <be> the foreseid kateryn my Mother And here assigneys into the forseid Tenement *with* thappurtenances to reentre & dystreyn And the dystresses then

& there so taken lafully to lede cary dryve & bere away And them

to Retayne vnto tyme the seid Rent wekely be to the foreseid my Moder to geder *with* costes And expensis in that behalf had & susteyned

be fully contentyd & paid Also J wyll that my seid feoffes shall suffer the seid Alice my wyff to haue *perceyve* and enioye and take vpp the yerely yssues & *profettes* of all my other landes & tenementes

with all ther appurtenances vnto the tyme the seyd Cristofer my Son

com to the seid Age of xxjth yeres except thre Mesuages *with* thappurtenances

set & beyng in Northlane in the Countie of Kent P r o v y d e d Alwey that yf yt *happen* the seid Alice my wyf to mary Ageyn afore the seid Cristofer my Sonne com to the seid Age of xxjth yeres

that then J wyll that thesame my feoffes shall suffer the seid Thomas

Colpholl & Thomas ffowle & there assigneys to haue *perceyve* & take

vpp All the seid yerely yssues & *profettes* of all my seid landes & tenementes

with all thappurtenances except before Reserued to the only vse & behove

of my seid Sonne Duryng hys seid nowne Age And when the
seid Cristofer my Sonne *commyth* to hys seid age of xxjth yeres
that

then J wyll that the seid my feoffes shall enffeeffe thesame
Cristofer my Sonne of And in All the seid landes & *tenementes*
with all

the *appurtenances* Except before *reserued* To haue & to hold to
hym

& to the heurez of hys body lauffully begoten And yf it happen
thesame Crestofer to dyscease afore he *commyth* to hys seid Age
of xxjth yeres *withoute* heires of hys body lauffully begoten that
then J wyll that All the seid landes & *tenementes* with all ther
appurtenances

Except <the seid iij> before *Reserued* and also Except xx Acres of
my land *with thappurtenances* lyeng <and> in the *parysshe* of
seint

Stephyns in the Countie of kent the whych beryth Rent to *sir*
John ffyneux knyght shall remayne to my seid Suster Colpholl
And to the heires of her body lauffully begoten And for lack
of suche yssue of her body lauffully begoten J wyll that all
thesame landes & *tenementes* *with all* there *appurtenances* Except
the

seid iij Mesuages & xx Acres of lande *with* the *appurtenances* afore
Except shalbe sold by myn executors & ouersear & there assigneys
to the best price that they can or may And the money therof
commynge by theym to be dysposed After there discrecons for the
helth of my soule my ffather & moder soules my frendes soules
And all crysten soules in the *parisshe* of the Holy Crosse a foreseid
And for lack of such yssuez of the body of the seid Cristofer
my son lauffully begoten J wyll that the seid xx Acres of
lland *with* the *appurtenances* afore exceptyd shall remayn to the

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seid Thomas ffowle and to his heires & assigneys for euer Moreouer
J wyll that the <same> seid Kateryn my Mother shall haue &
occupie

that my there [*sic*] mesuages sett & beyng in Northelane a foreseid
with thappurtenances duryng All the lyfe of the seid Kateryn
my Moder

And After the dyscease of the same Kateryn my mother J wyll
that

All thesame iij Mesuages *with* the *appurtenances* shall remayn
to the

seid Alice my wyff duryng <all the lyfe of the seid kateryn my Mother> the lyfe of thesame Alice And *after* the discease of the seid Alice my wyf J wyll that All thesame iij Mesuages *with* the appurtenances shall Remayn to my <Syster Colpholl & to the> seid

Cristofer my Sonne & to the heires of hys body laufully be gotten And yf yt happen thesame my Sonne to dye *without*e heirez of hys body laufully begotten that then J wyll that all thesame iij Mesuages *with* the appurtenances shall remayn to my

seid Suster Colpholl & to the heirez of her body laufully begotten And for lack of suche yssue of her body laufully begotten J wyll that the same iij Mesuages *with* the appurtenances shalbe sold by the seid Thomas Colpholl & Thomas fowle or ther assigneys And the money therof *commyn*g J wyll yt be disposed be thesame Thomas Colpholl & Thomas fflowle or there assignes for the helth of my soule my wyfes soules my ffather & mother soules and all cristen soules by there discrecons ffurthermore J wyll & my mynd & intent ys that whoo sooeuer shall haue the occupacon of my said princypall tenement that J nowe dwell in or take the yssuez & profettes therof shall kepe myn obyte of the profettes of the same tenement that ys to sey a dyrige & fyve massis in the foreseid Church of the Holy Crosse for euer for my soule my ffather and Mother soules & all Cristen soules Thyse witnesse Master Suppreur of Sent Gregoryes Thomas Harlesey Thomas Bett kateryn Marley & other #

II

WILL OF CHRISTOPHER MARLEY, 1539/40

(From *Archdeaconry Register*, Canterbury, Vol. 21, fol. 258 f.)

In dei nomine Amen in the yere of our lorde god
Mⁱ v^c xxxix^{ti} in the Raigne of our souereigne
Lorde kynge henrye the viijth the xxxj^{ti} yere
& the vth daye of march J christofer marley
tanner of the parrissh of westgaytt dwellynge
within the walles of the cetye of canterburye
do make mye will & laste testament ffirste
J bequeth mye soule to almightie god & to

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all the cumpanye of heuen & mye bodye to be buried
 in the churchyard aforesayd next vnto mye father
 Jtem J bequeth to the high Aulter of westgate
 church vj^s viij^d Jtem J bequeth to the mayntenance
 of the brothered of the holye crosse vj^s viij^d
 in the sayd church Jtem at the daye of mye
 buryall xv massys And so mych more at mye
 monethis mynde And mye xijth monethis mynde
 Jtem J wyll at the daye of mye buriall to be
 geuen to poore people the bredd of a seme¹ of
 wheitt And so mych more at mye monethys
 mynde & xij monethis mynde Jtem J bequeth
 to mye mother xx^{li} nobels in money, & her
 beddyng & Rayment that belongyth to her
 ij payer of sheyttes ij kerchers Jtem J bequeth
 to mye wyffe xx^{li} in money Jtem J bequeth to
 mye wyffe xx acres of lande lyinge in the
 parryssh of hakynton *with* the howse & the medowe
 to gether in the sayd parryssh Jtem J bequeth
 to mye daughter Elys x^{li} sterlinge to her
 mariage. And to the child that she² goyth *with*
 all if hitt be a man child mye dwellynge
 howse & the hangynge of the howse the
 meate table the beste chayer & a house
 <Joyned> Joynynge to mye dwellynge howse
 callyd the old hall with the lande longeth
 therto in fee symple And if hit be a
 mayde child then mye sayd howsyng to be
 equallye shyfted betwyne them mye ij daughters
 And then the sayd x^{li} to be equallye deuyded
 betwyne them also at the tyme of there
 maryage Jtem J bequeth to Symon lucas
 mye *seruant* besyde & above his wagys xiiij^s iiij^d
 Jtem J bequeth to James ffygge beyng trewe
 & faythfull in tannynge mye ware xx^s above
 his wagys Jtem to John pooll vj^s viij^d above his

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wagys Jtem J bequeth to Ambrose Dunckyn xx^s. Jtem to
 Walter hamon vj^s viij^d & these mye ij prentyses

¹ A seam, 8 bushels of grain.² i.e., his wife.

to have ther dubble rayment. Jtem J bequeyeth to
 mye wyffe all the Jmplementes of howschold
 Exceptyd that that ys bequeth Jtem J bequeth
 to John Tostes for his counsell & ayede in the
 perfourmance of this mye wyll & testament xiijs^s
 iiij^d Jtem J bequeth to mye mother inlawe liijs^s iiij^d
 And to James ffyge mye beste gowne. The
 Resedewe of all mye goodes not bequethed mye
 dettes legacies & this mye laste wyll fulfillyd
 J gyve & bequeth to Johanne mye wyffe the
 which Jone John Hobbys mye father in lawe
 & James Vydean J ordeyne & make theme
 myne Executors of this mye testament &
 Laste Wyll theye to dyspose for the helth of
 mye soule & all crysten soulys as theye shall
 thynke beste to the plesure of God And y
 bequeth to eyther of <them> mye ij Executors
 besydes mye wyffe xxvj^s viij^d for ther labors
 This witnesse John Tostes phelyppe boldnye

iurat

John thoms Henrye Walker & other with

iurat

John Hoobes

III

WILL OF JOHN HOBBS, FATHER-IN-LAW OF CHRISTOPHER MARLEY; 1545/6

(From *Archdeaconry Register, Canterbury*, Vol. 24, fol. 62.)

Jn the name of god Amen. The
 xxvth daye of ffebruarye in the yeare of our lorde
 god a thowsaunde fwe hundrethe fortye & fyue and
 in the xxxvijth yeare of the reygne of our soueraygne
 lorde henry the viijth by the grace of god kinge
 of Englande fraunce & Jrelande defendor of the faithe
 and in erthe of the churche of England and also
 of Jrelande supreme hed J John Hobbes of
 the paryshe of sainte paules without the walles
 of the cittyte of cauntorbury ordeyne and make
 this my presente testamente and laste wyll in
 maner and forme folowinge ffyrst J bequethe my soule
 to almighty god, my body to be buried in the church
 of sainte paules <of> a foresayd Jtem J wyll there

(page 2)

shalbe done for me at the daye of my buryall dyryge & x masses and at my mynde dyryge and fyue masses and at my yearsmynde other fyue masses Also J wyll that agnes my wyfe haue & enioye all her moueable goodes whyche she had or J maryed wythe or more and that in noo wyse anny of myne executors entrepose *with* <h> eny of her goodes Also J wyll that phyllype Hobbes my sonne shall sell & make sale of all my landes & tenementes wheresoeuer the be in cauntorbury or els where to the moste aduauntage they may be solde for And *with* the money commynge of the sale of my sayde landes and tenementes to paye my dettes after yt wyll extende The Resydue of all my goodes & catalles J comytt to the dyspossession of myne executors Whome I ordeyne and make the foresayde phylp hobbes my sonne and John tostes my frend and J giue to the sayde John Tostes for his labour xx^s. This wytnesse John Clarke vicar of sainte paules aforesayde Stephine Scotte Eustace frenchman John Wydope and other &c.

(Probate, 15 May, 1546.)

IV

WILL OF DOROTHY ARTHUR, 1597

(From *Archdeaconry Register*, Vol. 50, fol. 361.)

The will nuncupative of Dorothe Arthur of the parish of St Mary Bredman in the Citie of Canterbury viz: The said dorothe vpon the xxjth daie of August in the yeare of our Lord god one thowsand five hundred ninety And Seaven lieng sicke in the house of John Marley of the said parish, but of perfect minde And remembrance, Catherine Marley her Aunte did aske her what she would give vnto her Aunte Barton (meaning the wife of Salomon Barton of Canterbury who was Aunte vnto the said dorothe by the mothers side As the said Catherine Marley was by the fathers side) And the said dorothe said she would give her nothing: nor would not haue her sent for to come to her. Then being demaunded by the said Catherine

Marley who should haue all her goodes if it <she>
should please god to call her, the said dorothe said
that she gave all that she had vnto her said Aunte
Catherine Marley. These wordes were vttered
and spoken in the presence of Margaret Crosse
the wife of Nicholas Crosse And Margaret
Coxe the wife of John Coxe.

the mark ## of Margaret
Cross.

Witnesse.

the mark of ##
Margaret Coxe.

(Probate, 27 Aug. 1597. Fairly good transcripts of this will
and the next two were printed in Ingram's *Marlowe and his Associates*,
1904.)

V

WILL OF JOHN MARLOWE, 1604/5

(From *Archdeaconry Register*, Vol. 52, fol. 373.)

Jn the name of God, Amen, 1604. the xxiiijth day of Janua-
ry, J John Marlowe beeing sicke of body, but thanks be
to Almightye God of good & perfect remembrance, doe make
constitute & ordeyne this my last Will & Testament in maner
and forme following. ffirst J give & commend my soule into y^e
handes of Almightye God my maker & Redeemer, & my
body to be buried in y^e Churchyard of y^e parish of St
George w^{ithin} Canterbury. As touching my temporall
goods my debts & funeralls dischardged & paid J give
and bequeath wholly to my wife Katherine whome J
make my sole executrix. Jn witnesse whereof J John
Marlowe have to this my last will & Testament set to
my hand & seale y^e day & yeere above written.

The marke of John Marlowe ##

Jn the presence of us whose names are heere
underwritten. James Bissell y^e writer heereof.

Vyncent Huffam

Thomas plesyngton

xxiiij^o die ffebruarij 1604 imx^a &c Coram domino Offi^u &c
presente Radulpho Bailes notario publico probatum fuit testamentum
humoi iuramento executricis &c Ac approbatum et infirmatum
&c Onusque execucionis eiusdem Commissum fuit
executrici &c prius iurate &c in presentijs margarete

Jorden *alias* marlowe vxoris Johannis Jorden Anne
 Crauford *alias* Marlowe vxoris Johannis Crauford
 et dorothee Gradwell *alias* Cradwell vel marlowe
 vxoris Thome Gradell *alias* Cradwell filiarum
predicto *descendenti consentientium* et quantum in ijs est *approbantium*
et ratificantium testamentum predictum omniaque et singula in
eodem contenta.

G. Newman

Offic: Cant: sol: seod.

(Annotation: 'John Marlowe his will of Caunterburye'.)

VI

WILL OF KATHERINE MARLOWE, 1605/6

(From *Archdeaconry Register*, Vol. 54, fol. 267.)

Jn y^e name of god amen : J Katherine Marlowe widdowe of John
 Marlowe of Canterbury, late deceased though sicke in bodye
 yet in perfect memorye J giue god thanks, doe ordayne this my
 last will and testament, written one the 17 of
 Marche, in the yere of our lorde god 1605 in manner and forme
 as followethe.

ffirst J doe bequeathe my soule to god my sauieur, and redeemer,
 and my bodye to be buried in y^e Churcheyarde of
 St^t Georges in Canterburye neare where as my husbände John
 Marlowe was buried.

J doe bequeathe vnto my daughter Margaret Jurden the greatest
 golde ringe.

J doe bequeathe vnto my daughter An Crauforde a golde ringe
 w^{ch} my daughter Cradwell hath w^{ch} J would haue her to
 surrender

vp vnto her sister An. and an other siluer ringe.

J doe bequeathe vnto my daughter Doritye Cradwell, y^e ringe
 wth y^e double posye, she [*sic*]

J doe bequeathe vnto my daughter Jurden my <cloathe> stuffe
 gowne <w^{ch} J weare euerye daye> and my kirtle.

J doe bequeathe vnto my daughter Crauforde my best cloathe
 gowne and the cloathe that is lefte of y^e same.

J doe bequeathe vnto my daughter Cradwell my cloathe gowne
 w^{ch} J did weare euerye daye.

J doe bequeathe vnto my daughter Jurden <two> one siluer
 spoone<s> and vnto her eldest sonne John Jurden one
 greate siluer

spooone, and vnto her <yongest> sonne William one of y^e greatest siluer spoones of the sixe, and to Elsabethe Jurden, one spoone.

J doe bequeathe vnto my daughter An Crauforde one siluer spoone and to her sonne Anthonye one of y^e greatest spoones, and to John an other of y^e greatest siluer spoones, and vnto Elisabeth Crauforde one spoone.

I doe beequeathe vnto my daughter Dorytye Cradwell one siluer spoone and to her sonne John Cradwell one of the greatest siluer spoones.

J doe beequeathe vnto my daughter Jurden two cushions and vnto my daughter Crauforde 2 cushions of taffate, and to my daughter Cradwell two cushions.

J doe beequeathe my Christeninge linnen as the kearcher, the <drinkinge> dammaske napkin, a face cloathe, and a bearinge blanket to bee vsed equallye betweene them, and to serue to euerye of theire needs but if

my daughter Jurden doe goe out of the towne, my daughter An Crauforde to haue the keepinge of the same Christeninge linnen.

J doe beequeathe to euerye one of them one tablecloathe, and the fourthe to goe for an odde sheete that he w^{ch} hath the odde sheete may haue y^e table cloathe.

J doe bequeathe vnto euerye one of my daughters sixe paire of sheetes to bee <chosse> diuided equallye, and in steade of the sheete w^{ch} is taken awaye, there is one <sheete> tablecloathe added.

J doe bequeathe to euerye one of my daughters a dosen of napkins to be diuided equallye

because some are better then other.

J doe beequeathe vnto my daughter Jurden three payre of pillowe coates, and to my daughter

Crauforde three payre of pillowecoates, vnto my daughter Cradwell three payre of pillowe

coates one payre of pillowecoates J doe bequeathe vnto Katherine Reue, and vnto Goodwife

Morrice one pillowecoate.

I doe beequeathe vnto John Moore fortye shillings, and the ioyne presse that standeth in the greate chamber where

J lye.

J beequeathe vnto Mary May, my mayde my red petticoate, and a smocke,

I beequethe vnto Goodwife Morrice my petticoate that I doe
weare daylye and a smocke and a wastcoate.

J doe beequethe vnto Goodwife Jurden fortye Shillinges.

J doe beequethe vnto my daughter Cradwell twentye shillinges.

J <doe> would haue All these porcions to bee paid w^{thin} one
yeare after my deceasse.

J doe beequethe vnto my sonne Crauforde all the rest of my
goodes <so> payinge my debts and legacyes and
excharginge my funeralls, whoome I doe make my whole executor
of this my laste will and testamente

Jn witnesse whereof J haue heerevnto
set my hande and seale.

Wittnesses <J> those names y^t are

heere vnder written, and J

Thomas Hudson. y^e writer heereof.

The marke of Katherine Marlowe #

The marke of # Sarai Morrice.

The marke of # Mary Maye.

xxij^o Julij 1605 Coram domino

offi^{li} &c presente Radulpho Bailes

no^{rio} pub^{co} probatum et approbatum &c.

Onusque &c executori &c prius

iurat ad tacta &c.

G. Newman.

Offic Cant sol seod.

VII

RECOGNIZANCE, 1 OCTOBER, 1589

(Sessions Rolls, Westminster Guild Hall. Cited by Sidney Lee, *Athenæum*,
18 Aug. 1897.)

Midd ss Memorandum quod primo die octobris Anno regni domine
nostre Elizabethe Regine nunc Etc.

Tricesimo primo Richardus Kytchine de Clyffordes Jnne generosus
et Humfridus

Rowland de East Smythfeilde in Comitatu predicto horner
venerunt coram me

Willmo fletewoode Servienti ad legem et Recordatore Ciuitatis
London vno

Justiciarium dne nre Rne in Com pd assignatorum Etc et manu-
ceperunt pro xpoforo

Marley de London generoso: vizt vterque manucaptorum
predictorum sub pena

viginti librarum et ipse *predictus* xpoforus Marley assumpsit *pro*
 seipso sub
 pena quadraginta librarum de bonis Catallis terris et tenementis
 suis et
 eorum cuiuslibet ad opus et usum dicte Domine Regine levand-
 arum sub Condicione
 quod si ipse *predictus* xpoforus personalliter comparebit ad *proxi-*
mam Sessionem
 de Newgate ad respondendum ad omnia ea que ex parte dce
 Dne Rne
 versus eum obiecientur et non discedet absque Licencia Curie
 Quod
 tunc Etc Aut alioquin Etc

[Annotation on margin: 'recd & del & proclam'.]

VIII

GREENE'S ADMONITION TO MARLOWE

(*Groatsworth of Wit*, August, 1592.)

'Wonder not, (for with thee wil I first begin), thou famous gracer of Tragedians, that *Greene*, who hath said with thee (like the foole in his heart), There is no God, should now giue glorie vnto his greatnes: for penetrating is his power, his hand lyes heaue vpon me, hee hath spoken vnto me with a voice of thunder, and I haue felt he is a God that can punish enemies. Why should thy excellent wit, his gift, bee so blinded, that thou shouldst giue no glorie to the giuer? Is it pestilent Machiuiilian pollicy that thou hast studied? O peeuish follie! What are his rules but meere confused mockeries, able to extirpate in small time, the generation of mankind. For if *Sic volo, sic iubeo*, hold in those that are able to commaund: and if it be lawfull *Fas & nefas* to doe any thing that is beneficiall, onely Tyrants should possesse the earth, and they striuing to exceed in tyrannie, should each to other be a slaughter man; till the mightiest outliuing all, one stroke were lefte for Death, that in one age mans life should end. The brocher of this Diabollicall Atheisme is dead, and in his life had neuer the felicitie hee aymed at: but as he began in craft, liued in feare, and ended in despaire. *Quam inscrutabilia sunt Dei iudicia?* This murderer of many brethren, had his conscience seared like *Caine*: this betrayer of him that gaue his life for him, inherited the portion of *Iudas*: this Apostata perished as ill as *Iulian*: and wilt thou my friend be his disciple?

Looke but to me, by him perswaded to that libertie, and thou shalt find it an infernall bondage. I knowe the least of my demerits merit this miserable death, but wilfull striuing against knowne truth, exceedeth all the terrors of my soule. Defer not (with me) till this last point of extremitie; for little knowst thou how in the end thou shalt be visited.'

[Henry Chettle, who prepared this posthumous book of Greene's for the press, remarks that he was not acquainted with Marlowe, and 'I care not if I neuer be', adding, however, that he reverences his learning, 'and, at the perusing of Greenes booke, stroke out what then in conscience I thought he in some displeasure writ, or, had it beene true, yet to publish it was intollerable' (*Kind-Harts Dreame*, Dec. 1592).]

IX

RICHARD BAINES ON MARLOWE

(British Museum: Harleian MS. 6848, fol. 185-186. Words in angular brackets have been scored through in the original. This document was first printed, from the official 'copy', by Joseph Ritson, *Observations on Warton*, 1782.)

A note Containing the opinion of on Christopher Marly Concerning his damnable <opini> Judgment of Religion, and scorn of Gods word.

That the Indians and many Authors of antiquity haue assuredly writen of aboue 16 thousand yeares agone wheras <Moyses> Adam is <said> proued to haue lived within 6 thowsand yeares.

He affirmeth that Moyses was but a Jugler & that one Heriots being Sir W Raleighs man Can do more then he.

That Moyses made the Jewes to travell xl yeares in the wildernes, (*which* Journey might haue bin done in lesse then one yeare) ere they Came to the promised land to thintent that those who were privy to most of his subilties might perish and so an everlasting superstition Remain in the hartes of the people.

That the first beginning of Religioun was only to keep men in awe.

That it was an easy matter for Moyses being brought vp in all the artes of the Egiptians to abuse the Jewes being a rude & grosse people.

That Christ was a bastard and his mother dishonest.

That he was the sonne of a Carpenter, and that if the Jewes among whome he was borne did Crucify him theie best knew him and whence he Came.

That Crist deserved better to dy then Barrabas and that the Jewes made a good Choise, though Barrabas were both a thief and a murtherer.

That if there be any god or any good Religion, then it is in the papistes because the service of god is performed with more Cerimonies, as Elevation of the mass, organs, singing men, Shaven Crownes & cta. That all protestantes are Hypocriticall asses.

That if he were put to write a new Religion, he would vndertake both a more Exellent and Admirable methode and that all the new testament is filthily written.

That the woman of Samaria & her sister were whores & that Christ knew them dishonestly.

That St John the Evangelist was bedfellow to Christ and leaned (f. 185^v) alwaies in his bosome, that he vsed him as the sinners of Sodoma.

That all they that loue not Tobacco & Boies were fooles.

That all the apostles were fishermen and base fellowes neyther of wit nor worth, that Paull only had wit but he was a timorous fellow in bidding men to be subiect to magistrates against his Conscience.

That he had as good Right to Coine as the Queen of England, and that he was acquainted with one Poole a prisoner in Newgate who hath greate Skill in mixture of mettals and hauing learned some thinges of him he ment through help of a Cunnige stamp maker to Coin ffrench Crownes pistoletes and English shillings.

That if Christ would haue instituted the sacrament with more Ceremoniall Reverence it would haue bin had in more admiration, that it would haue bin much better being administred in a Tobacco pipe.

That the Angell Gabriell was baud to the holy ghost, because he brought the salutation to Mary.

That on Ric Cholmley <hath Cholmley> hath Confessed that he was perswaded by Marloe's Reasons to become an Atheist.

These thinges, with many other shall by good & honest witnes be aproved to be his opinions and Comon Speeches and that this Marlow doth not only hould them himself, but almost into every Company he Cometh he perswades men to Atheism willing them not to be afeard of bugbeares and hobgoblins, and vtterly scorning both god and his ministers as J Richard Baines will Justify & approue both by mine oth and the testimony of many honest men, and almost al men with whome he hath Conversed any time will testify the same, and as J think all men in Cristianity ought to indevor that the mouth of | so dangerous a member may be stopped, he saith likewise that he hath quoted a number of (f. 186)

Contrarieties oute of the Scripture *which* he hath giuen to some great men who in Convenient time shalbe named. When these thinges shalbe Called in question the witnes shalbe produced.

Richard Baines

X

A NOTE ON RICHARD BAINES

The Richard Baines who drew up the charges against Marlowe was probably the son of another Richard Baines, whose litigious career is illustrated by various unprinted documents in the Public Record Office. Richard Baines, Senior, was a man of wealth, a merchant of London, dealing extensively in wool, and the owner of much land in Shropshire and Montgomeryshire. Though usually described as 'of London', he held the manor of Great Aston in Shropshire and resided near Newport, Salop. In 1566 he had trouble with two families of Barnfields and Tilstons in Shropshire about the ownership of a piece of pasture land called the Lady Greves Wood, and caused depositions to be taken also in regard to an alleged burglary of his mansion house, Aston Hall (Star Chamber B 90/7, B 56/13, B 6/11).

In 1578 he asserted that he had been assaulted in Newport and almost murdered by Thomas Tilston and the brothers of Griffith Lloyd, Justice of the peace for the adjoining county of Montgomery. Baines's bill of complaint makes the most violent charges against Griffith Lloyd, who, it is alleged, refuses payment of £20 due on a bond and also of ten years' rent, amounting to £120, on two messuages belonging to Baines in Garthvelly and Llanthrongwell in the parish of Gilsfield, Montgomery. Lloyd is charged with forging documents and resorting to manifold legal trickery to escape payment, with practising arson and theft at the expense of Baines, and with misusing his powers as Justice to such an extent that he has driven Baines's witnesses against him out of the country and made it impossible for Baines or his servants to go into Montgomeryshire to demand his rent. He is said to commit extortion and live on the spoil of those who dare not oppose him, to have attempted to embezzle part of the Queen's last subsidy, and to have committed various specified acts of brutality (Star Chamber B 28/14).

The issue of the elder Baines's complaint against Griffith Lloyd is not precisely known to me; but doubt is cast upon its justice by the fact that two years later (7 Nov. 1580) William Herlle wrote to the Earl of Leicester, recommending the appointment

of Griffith Lloyd as Sheriff of Montgomeryshire, rather than John Vaughan, and again, on 17 November of the same year, conveyed Sir Edward Herbert's thanks to his Lordship 'for procuring an impartial Sheriff in Montgomeryshire, for which office Griffith Lloyd is much to be preferred' (Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, 1547-80, pp. 686, 688). Baines's adversaries called him 'a troublesome, clamorous, and wilful vexer of divers her Majesty's subjects' (Star Chamber B 28/14), and accused him of bringing malicious suits 'to put the said defendants to great costs, wrong, and travail, as he often and sundry times hath done . . . as well in the City of London as in the Queen's Majesty's Bench at Westminster, at the Council in the Marches of Wales, in the Queen's Majesty's High Court of Chancery, and in other places' (Star Chamber B 6/11).

In 1581 the elder Baines was engaged in a dispute with a London merchant, Jerome Benalio, concerning the alleged fraudulent failure of the latter to pay the full price for wool purchased from Baines and Robert Woodruff (S. P. Eliz., 149/34; 154/77 & 78). Benalio, who was represented by Mr. Serjeant Puckering,¹ asserted that Baines sold 351 tods of wool at 32 shillings a tod to one Humphrey Mercer, who was forced to resell them to Benalio for 25 shillings a tod. After Baines had been paid by Mercer, 'the seid Baynes & Woodrof, being *parteners* and Joynt occupiers together, and therewithall of a verie Covetous & ill disposicon and meaning as yt seemeth to be double payde for the seid wolles did Confederate themselves together and thervvpon agreed that the seid Woodrof shoulde bring an accon of Trover against the seid Benalio in the xchequer, *which* the seid Woodrof did accordingly'. The Lord Chief Baron of the Exchequer,² 'being verie nere alied vnto the seid Woodrof', is accused of over-riding a chancery injunction in Benalio's favour.

Richard Baines the younger seems to have been born about 1566. On 21 May, 1582, he was admitted to the Middle Temple as 'Mr. Richard, son and heir of Richard Baynes of Shrewsbury, gent., *specially*³; fine £5. Bound with his father and John

¹ Later Sir John Puckering, Lord Chancellor, to whom Kyd wrote his charges against Marlowe.

² This was Sir Roger Manwood, a Latin epitaph in whose memory was ascribed to Marlowe by J. P. Collier. In 1591 Manwood was detected in the sale of an office.

³ C. T. Martin, *Minutes of Parliament of the Middle Temple*, vol. i, 251. Those admitted 'specially' were few and apparently rich. They paid £5 as a fine or admission fee, whereas those admitted 'generally' paid only 20s. to 40s.

Jermy.' The next year, he was matriculated at Oxford as Richard Baynes of London, gent., aged seventeen, but took no degree.¹

By 1588 the elder Richard Baines had died intestate, leaving a considerable estate to his son, who was rather vehemently suspected by the Privy Council of attempting to defraud one of his father's creditors. A letter from the Council, 31 Dec. 1588, speaks as follows :

'Whereas Richard Banes, merchant of the Staple, deceased, borrowed of John St. Leger, merchant stranger, the sum of £338 15s., putting in bond for the payment of £198 without giving any security or testimony in writing for the answering of the rest, viz., £150 (*sic*), which sums of money ought to have been satisfied by Richard Banes, son to the said Richard, by reason he took upon him the administration of the goods and chattels of his said father, who died intestate, being of sufficient wealth and ability to discharge the said debt, and the said Richard Banes, the son, notwithstanding seeketh by deceitful and subtle means to defraud the said St. Leger . . . <therefore Dr. Caesar, Dr. Hammon, and Mr. Yelverton, to whom the Council's letter is addressed> are required to call before them as well the said Banes, the son, and John St. Leger, as also all such witnesses as should be by either of them offered to be produced for the verifying of their allegations, and to examine by the best and strictest means they could the said controversy, which they might more plainly perceive by the enclosed petition ; and if upon hearing of all parties and true information of the cause it should appear that such fraudulent practices had been used by the said Banes to defeat the suppliant of his due debt, they are required to enjoin the said Banes to make payment of the said sums unto the said St. Leger within some reasonable time to be by them thereunto appointed ; and in case the said Banes would not consent thereunto, to bind him in good sums of money to her Majesty's use to answer the same before their Lordships with convenient speed, and to certify withal their proceedings herein.' ²

Baines evidently refused to pay St. Leger, and was accordingly put under bond to appear before the Council. A minute of 2 February following (1588-9) records :

'Richard Baynes of the Middle Temple in London, gentleman, being bound to make his appearance before the Lords of her Majesty's most honourable Privy Council, this day made his said appearance, which for his indemnity for the said bond is entered into this Register

¹ Joseph Foster, *Alumni Oxonienses*.

² Dasent, *Acts of the Privy Council*, vol. xvi, 424-25.

of Council, and he thereupon enjoined to give his attendance daily on their Lordships till by their order he shall be dismissed.' ¹

What happened further seems not to be recorded.

There was another Richard Baynes living at the time. He matriculated at Cambridge, as pensioner from Christ's, Nov. 1568; took his B.A. in 1572-73, and his M.A. (as a member of Caius) in 1576. Nothing more seems to be known of his career. Cooper (*Athenae Cantab.*, ii. 174), Peile (*Biog. Reg. of Christ's Coll.*, i. 108) and Venn (*Alumni Cantab.*) all assert that he was the man hanged at Tyburn in 1594, 'crime unknown'; but I cannot find that they had any evidence for this except the identity of name. The Cambridge Baynes may have brought the charges against Marlowe as an honest Puritan, and his namesake, the scapegrace of the Middle Temple and Oxford, may have been the one hanged; but the charges certainly seem to have been made by some one who had been rather intimately associated with Marlowe, and the Cambridge Baynes, besides being a dozen years older than the poet, has not been shown even to have been in London in 1593. More information on the subject of the 'injunctions to Ric. Baynes and others' mentioned in the Calendar of State Papers, 30 Jan. 1591, might add some light.

XI

KYD'S LETTER TO SIR JOHN PUCKERING

(British Museum : Harleian MS. 6849, fol. 218. Facsimile in Boas, *Works of Thomas Kyd.*)

At my last being with your Lordship to entreate some speaches from you in my favor
to my Lorde, whoe (though J thinke he rest not doubtfull of myne innocence) hath yet
in his discreeter iudgment feared to offende in his reteyning me,
without your honours
former pryvitie; So is it now *Right honourable* that the denyall of that favour (to my
thought resonable) hath mov'de me to coniecture some suspicion,
that your Lordship holdes me
in, concerning Atheisme, a deadlie thing which J was vndeserved charged withall, &

¹ Ibid., vol. xvii, 67.

therefore have J thought it requisite, aswell in duetie to *your*
Lordship, & the Lawes, as
 also in the feare of god, & freedom of my conscience, therein to
 satisfie the
 world and you :

The first and most (thoughe insufficient surmize) that euer as
 therein
 might be raisde of me, grewe thus. When J was first suspected
 for that

Libell that concern'd the state, amongst those waste and idle
 papers (*which* J carde
 not for) & *which* vnaskt J did deliuer vp, were founde some
 fragmentes of a
 disputation toching that opinion affirmd by Marlowe to be his,
 and shuffled
 with some of myne (vnknown to me) by some occasion of *our*
 wrytinge in one
 chamber twoe yeares synce

My first acquaintance with this Marlowe, rose vpon his bearing
 name to
 serve my *Lord* although his *Lordship* never knewe his service,
 but in writing for
 his plaiers, ffor never cold my *Lord* endure his name, or sight,
 when he had heard
 of his conditions, nor wold in deed the forme of devyne praier
 vsed duellie in his
Lordships house, haue quadred with such reprobates.

That J shold loue or be familer frend, with one so irreligious,
 were verie rare,
 when Tullie saith *Digni sunt amicitia quibus in ipsis inest causa*
cur diligentur
which neither was in him, for *person*, quallities, or honestie,
 besides he was
 intemperate & of a cruel hart, the verie contraries to *which*, my
 greatest enemies
 will saie by me.

It is not to be nombred amongst the best conditions of men,
 to taxe or to
 opbraide the deade *Quia mortui non mordent*, But thus muche
 haue J with *your*
Lordships favour, dared in the greatest cause, *which* is to cleere
 my self of being
 thought an Atheist, which some will sweare he was.

Ffor more assurance that J was not of that vile opinion, Lett
 it but
 please *your Lordship* to enquire of such as he conversd withall,
 that is (as J am
 geven to vnderstand) with Harriot, Warner, Royden, and some
 stationers
 in Paules churchyard, whom J in no sort can accuse nor will
 excuse
 by reson of his companie, of whose consent if J had been, no
 question but
 J also shold haue been of their consort, for *ex minimo vestigio*
artifex agnoscit
artificem.

Of my religion & Life J haue alredie geven some instance to
 the Late comissioners
 & of my reverend meaning to the state, although perhaps my
 paines and
 vndeserved tortures felt by some, wold haue ingendred more
 impatience
 when Lesse by farr hath dryven so manye imo extra caulas
which it shall
 never do with me.

But whatsoever J haue felt *Right honourable* this is my request
 not for reward but
 in regard of my trewe inocence that it wold please *your Lordships*
 so to <use> the same
 & me, as J maie still reteyne the favours of my Lord, whom J haue
 servd almost
 theis vj yeres now, in credit vntill nowe, & nowe am vtterlie
 vndon without
 herein be somewhat donn for my recoverie. ffor J do knowe his
Lordship holdes
 your honours & the state in that dewe reverence, as he wold no
 waie move the
 Leste suspicion of his Loves and cares both towardes hir sacred
Majestie your Lordships
 and the Lawes wherof when tyme shall serve J shall geue greater
 instance *which*
 J haue observd.

As for the Libel Laide vnto my chardg J am resolued with
 receyving of ye sacrament
 to satisfie *your Lordships* & the World that J was neither agent
 nor consenting therunto

(page 2)

Howebeit if some outcast Jsmael for want or of his owne dispose
 to lewdnes haue
 with pretext of duetie or religion, or to reduce himself to that he
 was not borne
 vnto by enie waie incensd your *Lordships* to suspect me, J shall
 besech in all humillitie
 & in the feare of god that it will please your *Lordships* but to
 censure me as J shall
 prove my self, and to repute them as they ar in deed Cum totius
 iniustitiæ
 nulla capitalior sit quam eorum, qui tum cum maxime fallunt id
 agunt vt viri
 boni esse videantur ffor doubtles even then your *Lordships*
 shalbe sure to breake
 <up> their Lewde designs and see in to the truthe, when but their
 Lyues that
 herein haue accused me shalbe examined & rypped vp effectually,
 soe
 maie J chaunce with paul to Liue & shake the vpyer of my hand
 into the
 fier for which the ignorant suspect me guiltie of the former
 shipwrack.
 And thus (for nowe J feare me J growe teadious) assuring your
 good *Lordship*
 that if J knewe eny whom J cold iustlie accuse of that damnable
 offence to
 the awefull Majestie of god or of that other mutinous sedition
 towrd the state
 J wold as willinglie reveale them as J wold request your *Lordships*
 better thoughtes of
 me that never haue offended you

Your *Lordships* most humble in all duties

Th. Kydde

[Latin quotations and a few other words are written in the Italian script. The words in angular brackets are not now legible in the manuscript.]

XII

KYD'S UNSIGNED NOTE TO PUCKERING

(British Museum : Harleian 6848, fol. 154.)

- Pleaseth it *your* honourable *Lordship* toching marlowes mon-
 struous opinions as J
 cannot but with an agreved conscience think on him or them
 so can J but *particulariz*
 fewe in the respect of them that kept him greater company,
 Howbeit in
 discharg of dutie both towardes god *your Lordships* & the world
 thus much haue J thought
 good breiflie to discover in all humblenes
 ffirst it was his custom when J knewe him first & as J heare
 saie he
 contynewd it in table talk or otherwise to iest at the devine
 scriptures
 gybe at praiers, & stryve in *argument* to frustrate & confute
 what hath byn
 spoke or wrytt by prophets & such holie men.
- 1 He wold report St John to be *our saviour* Christes Alexis J cover
 it with reverence
 and trembling that is that Christ did loue him with an extra-
 ordinary loue.
- 2 That for me to wryte a poem of St paules conversion as J was
 determined
 he said wold be as if J shold go wryte a book of fast & loose,
 esteming
 paul a Jugler.
- 3 That the prodigall Childes portion was but fower nobles he held
 his
 purse so neere the bottom in all pictures, and that it either was
 a iest
 or els fower nobles then was thought a great patrimony not
 thinking it a *parable*.
- 4 That things esteemed to be donn by devine power might haue
 aswell been don
 by observation of men all *which* he wold so sodenlie take slight
 occasion to
 slyp out as J & many others in regard of his other rashnes in
 attempting

soden pryvie iniuries to men did ouerslypp though often reprehend him for it
 & for which god is my witnes aswell by my lordes comaundment as in hatred
 of his Life & thoughts J left & did refraine his companie
 He wold perswade with men of quallitie to goe vnto the k of Scotts whether
 J heare Royden is gon and where if he had liud he told me when J
 sawe him last he meant to be.

[The marginal numerals opposite the reported sayings have apparently been inserted by Puckering or some other early reader of the note. This document was first printed, with a few minor misreadings, by F. K. Brown, *Times Literary Supplement*, 2 June, 1921.]

XIII

THE QUEEN'S PARDON TO INGRAM FRIZER FOR MARLOWE'S DEATH

(Chancery Patent Rolls, 35 Eliz., 28 June, 1593, first printed by J. L. Hotson, *The Death of Christopher Marlowe*, 1925, with facsimile. Professor Hotson discovered also the Chancery writ and coroner's verdict in the case, the latter of which is almost identical with the pardon except in the final section.)

Regina Omnibus Balliuis & fidelibus suis ad quos
 Regine &c salutem Cum per quandam
 perdonatio se Jnquisiconem indentatam captam apud Detford
 defendendo Jnquisiconem indentatam captam apud Detford
 pro Jngramo Strand in Comitatu nostro Kancie infra
 ffrisar virgam primo die Junij vltimo preterito coram
 Willelmo Danby generoso Coronatore
 hospicij nostri super visum corporis Christoferi Morley ibidem
 iacentis mortui & interfecti per
 sacrum Nicholai Draper Generosi Wolstani Randall Generosi
 Willelmi Curry Adriani Walker Johannis
 Barber Roberti Baldwine Egidij ffield Georgij Halfepenny Henrici
 Awger Jacobi Batte
 Henrici Bendin Thome Batte senioris Johannis Baldwyn Alex-
 andri Burrage Edmundi
 Goodcheape & henrici Dabyns compertum existit Quod quidam
 Jngramus ffrisar nuper
 de London Generosus ac predictus Cristoferus Morley Ac quidam
 Nicholaus Skeres nuper

de London Generosus ac Robertus Poley de London *predicta*
 Generosus tricesimo die
 Maij vltimo *preterito* apud Detford Strande *predictam* in *predicto*
 Comitatu nostro Kancie infra
 virgam circa horam decimam ante meridiem eiusdem diei insimul
 conuenerunt in
 Camera infra domum cuiusdam Elionore Bull vidue & ibidem
 pariter moram gesserunt
 & prandebant & post prandium ibidem in quieto modo inisimul
 fuerunt & ambulauerunt
 in Gardinum *pertinentem* domui *predicte* vsque horam sextam
 post meridiem eiusdem
 diei & tunc recesserunt a gardino *predicto* in Cameram *predictam*
 & ibidem insimul
 et pariter cenabant & post cenam *predicti* Jngramus & Christo-
 ferus Morley locuti
 fuerunt & publicauerunt vnus eorum alteri diuersa malitiosa
 verba pro eo quod concordare &
 agreare non potuerunt circa soluconem denariorum summe vocate
 le Reckoninge
 ibidem & *predictus* Xpoferus Morley adtunc iacens super lectum
 in Camera vbi
 cenauerunt & ira motus versus *prefatum* Jngramum *ffrisar* super
 verbis vt *prefertur* inter eos
prelocutis Et *predictus* Jngramus adtunc & ibidem sedens in
 Camera *predicta* cum tergo
 suo versus lectum vbi *predictus* Cristoferus Morley tunc iacebat
 prope lectum vocatum
 nere the Bedd sedens & cum anteriori parte corporis sui versus
 mensam & *predicti*
 Nicholaus Skeres & Robertus Poley ex vtraque parte ipsius
 Jngrami sedentes tali
 modo vt idem Jngramus *ffrisar* nullo modo fugam facere potuit
 Ita accidit quod *predictus*
 Cristoferus Morley ex subito & ex malicia sua erga *prefatum*
 Jngramum *precogitata*
 pugionem *predicti* Jngrami super tergum suum existentem
 maliciose adtunc & ibidem
 euaginabat & cum eodem pugione *predictus* Cristoferus Morley
 adtunc & ibidem
 maliciose dedit *prefato* Jngramo duo vulnera super Caput suum
 longitudinis duorum

pollicium & profunditatis quartij vnus pollicis Super quo *predictus*
 Jngramus metuens
 occidi & sedens in forma *predicta* inter *prefatos* Nicholaum Skeres
 & Robertum Poley Jta quod
 vltorius aliquo modo recedere non potuit in sua defensione &
 saluacone vite sue
 adtunc & ibidem contendebat cum *prefato* xpofero Morley recipere
 ab eo pugionem
 suum *predictum* Jn qua quidem affraia idem Jngramus a *prefato*
 xpofero morley vltorius ¹ recedere
 non potuit Et sic in affraia illa ita accidit quod *predictus* Jngramus
 in defensione vite
 sue cum pugione *predicta* ² *precij* duodecim denariorum dedit
prefato Cristofero adtunc &
 ibidem vnam plagam mortalem super dexterum oculum suum
profunditatis duorum
 pollicium & latitudinis vnus pollicis de qua quidem plaga mortali
predictus
 xpoferus Morley adtunc & ibidem instanter obiit Et sic quod
predictus Jngramus *prefatum*
 Cristoferum Morley *predicto* tricesimo die Maij vltimo *preterito*
 apud Detford Strande
predictam in *predicto* Comitatu nostro Kancie infra virgam in
 Camera *predicta* infra Virgam modo &
 forma *predictis* in defensione ac saluacone vite sue interfecit &
 occidit contra pacem
 nostram coronam & dignitatem nostras Sicut per tenorem Recordi
 Jnquisiconis *predicte* quem
 coram nobis in Cancellaria nostra virtute brevis nostri venire
 fecimus plenius liquet Nos
 igitur pietate moti perdonauimus eidem Jngramo ffrisar sectam
 pacis nostre que ad
 nos versus *predictum* Jngramum pertinet pro morte supradicta &
 firmam pacem nostram ei inde
 concedimus Jta tamen quod stet rectum in Curia nostra siquis
 versus eum loqui voluerit de morte
 supradicta Jn cuius rei &c Teste Regina apud Kewe xxviij die
 Junij.

[The inquisition of the coroner's jury, taken 1 June, is in almost precisely the same words, except that it of course omits the state-

¹ This word is an interlinear addition.

² The gender of 'pugio' should be masculine, as it is three lines above.

ment of the Queen's pardon at the end. It contains, however, one statement of importance which has not been copied into the pardon : ' Et ulterius Juratores predicti dicunt super sacrum suum quod predictus Ingramus post occisionem predictam per se modo & forma predictis perpetrata & facta non fugit neque se retraxit'.]

XIV

GABRIEL HARVEY ON MARLOWE'S DEATH

(Harvey's *New Letter of Notable Contents*, signed ' This 16. of September. 1593 ', has at the end a sonnet entitled *Gorgon, or the wonderfull yeare*, of which the last line runs :

' Weepe Powles, thy Tamberlaine voutsafes to dye.'

There is then appended the following poem, which completes the volume.)

The Writers Postscript : or a frendly Caueat to the Second Shakerley of Powles.

SONET.

Slumbring I lay in melancholy bed,
Before the dawning of the sanguin light :
When Eccho shrill, or some Familiar Spright
Buzzed an Epitaph into my hed.

Magnifique Mindes, bred of Gargantuas race,
In grisly weedes His Obsequies waiment,
Whose Corps on Powles, whose mind triumph'd on Kent,
Scorning to bate Sir Rodomont an ace.

I mus'd awhile : and hauing mus'd awhile,
Iesu, (quoeth I) is that Gargantua minde
Conquerd, and left no Scanderbeg behinde ?
Vowed he not to Powles A Second bile ?

What bile, or kibe ? (quoeth that same early Spright)
Haue you forgot the Scanderbegging wight ?

GLOSSE.

Is it a Dreame ? or is the Highest minde,
That euer haunted Powles, or hunted winde,
Bereaft of that same sky-surmounting breath,
That breath, that taught the Timpany to swell ?

He, and the Plague contended for the game :
The hawty man extolles his hideous thoughtes,
And gloriously insultes vpon poore soules,
That plague themselues : for faint harts plague themselues.

The tyrant Sicknesse of base-minded slaues
 Oh how it dominer's in Coward Lane?
 So Surquidry rang-out his larum bell,
 When he had girn'd at many a dolefull knell.
 The graund Dissease disdain'd his toade Conceit,
 And smiling at his tamberlaine contempt,
 Sternely struck-home the peremptory stroke.
 He that nor feared God, nor dreaded Diu'll,
 Nor ought admired, but his wondrous selfe:
 Like Iunos gawdy Bird, that prowdly stares
 On glittering fan of his triumphant taile:
 Or like the vgly Bugg, that scorn'd to dy,
 And mountes of Glory rear'd in towring witt:
 Alas: but Babell Pride must kisse the pitt.
 L' enuoy.

Powles steeple, and a hugyer thing is downe:
 Beware the next Bull-beggar of the towne.

Fata immatura vagantur.

[Little can be made of this cloudy drivel, except that Harvey assumed Marlowe to have fallen victim to the ravaging plague. St. Paul's seems to be mentioned as the scene of Marlowe's triumphs both because its aisles were the particular place for a swaggerer to exhibit himself and because its churchyard was fringed about with bookshops.

In the body of the *New Letter* Harvey has the following allusions:
 'Though Greene were a Iulian, and Marlow a Lucian: yet I would be loth, He <i.e., Nashe> should be an Aretin' (sig. D 1);
 'Plinyes, and Lucians religion may ruffle, and scoffe awhile: but extreme Vanitie is the best beginning of that brauery, and extreme Miserie the best end of that felicity. Greene, and Marlow might admonish other to aduise themselues' (sig. D 2).]

XV

THOMAS BEARD'S ACCOUNT OF MARLOWE'S DEATH

(*The Theatre of Gods Iudgements*, 1597, Chapter XXV, 'Of Epicures and Atheists'.)

Not inferiour to any of the former in Atheisme & impiety, and equall to all in maner of punishment was one of our own nation, of fresh and late memory, called *Marlin* [marginal note: *Marlow*], by profession a scholler, brought vp from his youth in the Vniuersitie of Cambridge, but by practise a playmaker, and a Poet of scurrilitie, who by giuing too large a swinge to his owne wit, and

suffering his lust to haue the full raines, fell (not without iust desert) to that outrage and extremitie, that hee denied God and his sonne Christ, and not only in word blasphemed the trinitie, but also (as it is credibly reported) wrote bookes against it, affirming our Sauour to be but a deceiuer, and *Moses* to be but a coniurer and seducer of the people, and the holy Bible to be but vaine and idle stories, and all religion but a deuice of pollicie. But see what a hooke the Lord put in the nosthrils of this barking dogge : It so fell out, that in London streets as he purposed to stab one whome hee ought a grudge vnto with his dagger, the other party perceiuing so auoided the stroke, that withall catching hold of its wrest, he stabbed his owne dagger into his owne head, in such sort, that notwithstanding all the meanes of surgerie that could be wrought, hee shortly after died thereof. The manner of his death being so terrible (for hee euen cursed and blasphemed to his last gaspe, and together with his breath an oth flew out of his mouth) that it was not only a manifest signe of Gods iudgement, but also an horrible and fearefull terrour to all that beheld him. But herein did the justice of God most notably appeare, in that hee compelled his owne hand which had written those blasphemies to be the instrument to punish him, and that in his braine, which had deuised the same. I would to God (and I pray it from my heart) that all Atheists in this realme, and in all the world beside, would by the remembrance and consideration of this example, either forsake their horrible impietie, or that they might in like manner come to destruction : and so that abominable sinne which so flourisheth amongst men of greatest name, might either be quite extinguished and rooted out, or at least smothered and kept vnder, that it durst not shew it head any more in the worlds eye.

[Beard's erroneous statement that Marlowe's death occurred 'in London streets' is omitted in the 1612 edition of his book, but it reappears in Edmund Rudierde's abridgment, *The Thunderbolt of Gods Wrath against Hard-Hearted and stiffe-necked sinners*, 1618, which says :

' We read of one *Marlin*, a *Cambridge* Scholler, who was a Poet, and a filthy Play-maker, this wretch accounted that meeke seruant of God *Moses* to be but a Coniurer, and our sweete Sauour but a seducer and a deceiuer of the people. But harken yee braine-sicke and prophane Poets, and Players, that bewitch idle eares with foolish vanities : what fell vpon this prophane wretch, hauing a quarrell against one whom he met in a streete in London, and would

haue stabd him : But the partie perceiuing his villany preuented him with catching his hand, and turning his owne dagger into his braines, and so blaspheming and cursing, he yeelded vp his stinking breath : marke this yee Players, that liue by making fooles laugh at sinne and wickednesse.'

Francis Meres, *Palladis Tamia*, 1598, refers briefly to Beard's account, and adds a statement which (as no contemporary support for it has been found) must be assumed to be invented :

'As the poet *Lycophron* was shot to death by a certain riual of his : so *Christopher Marlow* was stabd to death by a bawdy seruing man, a riual of his in his lewde loue.'

Samuel Clark's *Mirror or Looking-Glass for Saints and Sinners*, 1654 (vol. I, ch. ix, 'Examples of Gods Judgments upon Atheists'), repeats Beard's version of the poet's death. Clark's book reached a fourth edition in 1671.]

XVI

WILLIAM VAUGHAN ON MARLOWE'S DEATH

(*The Golden Grove*, 1600, Book I, chapter 3, Of Atheists.)

Not inferiour to these was one Christopher Marlow by profession a play-maker, who, as it is reported, about 7. yeeres a-goe wrote a booke against the Trinitie : but see the effects of Gods iustice ; it so hapned, that at Detford, a litle village about three miles distant from London, as he meant to stab with his ponyard one named Ingram, that had inuited him thither to a feast, and was then playing at tables, he quickly perceyving it, so auoyded the thrust, that withall drawing out his dagger for his defence, hee stabd this Marlow into the eye, in such sort, that his braines comming out at the daggers point, hee shortlie after dyed.

[From a copy of the original edition in the Huntington Library, sig. C 4 verso and C 5. The second edition of Vaughan's book, in 1608, alters 'about 7' to 'about 14' years ago.]

PART II

THE TRAGEDY OF DIDO, QUEEN OF CARTHAGE

INTRODUCTION

THE title-page of this tragedy, published the year after Marlowe's death, states that it was played by the Children of her Majesty's Chapel and written by Christopher Marlowe and Thomas Nash(e). The weight of previous opinion inclines strongly—and justly, as it seems to me—to two conclusions : (1) That the evidences of Marlowe's authorship preponderate in every Act, the marks of Nashe's hand being few and generally indefinite ; (2) That the style is essentially that of Marlowe's earliest period, and is consistent with the idea that *Dido* was composed, at least for the most part, before he left Cambridge. These points are discussed below in the notes on the relevant passages of the text.

There is no evidence that the play had been acted before Marlowe's death, and Nashe's association with it is most easily explained by the assumption that he prepared it for production by the Chapel Children, or for publication after that event. The only other extant dramatic work by Nashe, *Summer's Last Will and Testament*, published in 1600, seems to have been written in 1592 or 1593, and likewise to have been acted by a private company.¹ Neither of these plays has any ascertainable stage history beyond an implied first performance. However, we are at liberty

¹ Probably the Children of Paul's ; cf. Hillebrand, ' The Child Actors ', in *Univ. Illinois Studies*, 1926, p. 148, n. 98.

to assume, since there is no evidence to the contrary, that the play before us is the same *Dido* which the Lord Admiral's Company, under Henslowe's auspices, acted for the first time on 8 January, 1597-8,¹ and that it may also be identical with the tragedy of Aeneas and Dido which M. de la Boderie, the French ambassador, saw in June, 1607, at an entertainment given by the Earl of Arundel for James I and his court.²

In style *Dido* most resembles *Tamburlaine*. The great majority of the verses are regular decasyllables, end-stopped, which close with a long polysyllabic word so often as to constitute a distinct mannerism. Run-on lines, which Marlowe never used freely except in the Lucan translation, are here rarer than in any of his other works, and the abstention from feminine endings is almost absolute. On the other hand, as in *Tamburlaine*, nine-syllable lines (in which the first foot is made up of a single syllable) are freely used, and hexameters are not uncommon, while trimeters, tetrameters, and syllabic-pause verses are employed for definite effect. Rime is relatively more frequent than in any other of Marlowe's plays (over 100 verses), and alliteration, common also in *Tamburlaine*, is here so marked as to be a vice. So also is the repetition of favourite phrases,

¹ Henslowe's Diary has the following memoranda: (1) an expenditure, 3 January, 1597-8, of 29 shillings for furnishings 'a geante the playe of dido & enevs'; (2) 'Lent vnto the company when they fyrst played dido at nyght the some of thirtishillynges w^{ch} wasse the 8 of Jenewary 1597 <1598>'. Greg (*Henslowe's Diary*, ii, 190) and Chambers (*Eliz. Stage*, ii, 132) think that the Admiral's company may have got this *Dido* play from Pembroke's. The last company had produced Marlowe's *Edward II* and *The True Tragedy*. Since the Chapel Children seem not to have acted in London between 1584 and 1600, their claim to the play would not have prevented its performance by a London company; but the evidence is very thin either way. The Chapel Children played during May, 1587, at Norwich and Ipswich—i.e. in two counties contiguous to Cambridge. One is tempted to imagine that they procured the text of Marlowe's play during that season, and, after giving it for a time in the provinces, revived it when they (or their successors) resumed performances in London in 1600 as the 'little eyases' of *Hamlet*, thus inviting Shakespeare's parody. Fleay (*Biog. Chron. Engl. Drama*, ii, 147) surmises that the Chapel Children produced *Dido* before the Queen at Croydon in 1591, and Chambers (*Eliz. Stage*, iii, 427) scoffs at the notion.

² T. S. Graves in *Modern Language Review*, Oct. 1914.

or of entire lines. Parallels of thought and wording between *Dido* and other Marlovian works are almost innumerable, as the notes will show. They are found most copiously in *Tamburlaine* and the translation of Ovid's *Elegies*, but some of the most striking link this play with such late works as *Edward II* and *Hero and Leander*. In the notes upon these I have attempted to show how often the priority of the *Dido* passage is attested by its closer relation to the context and less elaborated form. Indeed, a surprising number of the word-patterns and mental pictures for which Marlowe is famous appear to have found their first expression in *Dido*.

The Tragedy of Dido, Queen of Carthage, is a dramatic version of the first, second, and fourth books of the *Aeneid*. The Latin text, eight lines of which are woven directly into the last Act, has evidently been employed. No indebtedness to previous English translations or paraphrases¹ has been noted. Large portions of the play, as the notes will show, are closely translated from the corresponding passages of Vergil, but the rendering is marked by fluency and fidelity to English idiom, and also by a promising boldness of transposition, where the sequence of the Latin lines has been broken in order to build up new thought cadences. The chief additions to the Vergilian story are: The prelude (I. i, 1-49); the great amplification of the part of Iarbas, with Anna's love for him and the suicide of both at the end; the details about Dido's suitors and about the rigging of the ships; a much more complicated treatment of the confusion of identity between Ascanius and Cupid, introducing several

¹ Caxton, 1490; Gavin Douglas, 1512/3; the Earl of Surrey, 1557; Phaer, 1558; Stanyhurst, 1582. Nor is there any particular similarity to William Gager's Latin play of *Dido*, acted at Oxford in 1583. Earlier plays on the same theme, by John Ritwise, master of St. Paul's School, London (ca. 1527) and by Edward Halliwell, of King's College, Cambridge (1564), have not been preserved.

scenes unsuggested by Vergil ;¹ the double use of the episode of Mercury's warning to Aeneas ; and the unsuccessful first effort of the hero to sail to Italy.

The early texts of Marlowe, as collectors know, are in most cases notoriously rare, and *Dido* is the rarest of them all. It appeared in print only once in the long period between its composition and the year 1825. This sole source for the text and external history of the play (for no contemporary allusions have been discovered) is a Quarto printed by the Widow Orwin for Thomas Woodcocke in 1594. The date of issue can be probably fixed in the spring of that year. Thomas Orwin, the printer, whose widow continued his business for several years, had died within a few weeks of Marlowe (i.e. shortly before 25 June, 1593). Thomas Woodcocke, who was appointed under-warden of

¹ These are the scenes in the play, involving Ascanius and Cupid :

- I. i, 134 ff. Ascanius enters with Aeneas, on the African coast. He is hungry (163).
- II. i. He, Aeneas, etc., survey Carthage. He talks about the statue of Priam (35) and later (96) speaks to Dido.
- II. i, 304 ff. Venus enters with Cupid, takes Ascanius by the sleeve and persuades him to eat sugar-almonds with her (Dido's maid) and Cupid (Dido's son). She sings Ascanius asleep, lays him in 'this grove', leaving her doves as sentinels, and commands Cupid to go to Dido in Ascanius' shape.
- III. i. Cupid, as Ascanius, prepares his golden arrow for Dido, sits in her lap, begs gifts, and interferes with her talk to Iarbas.
- III. ii. Juno enters to murder the sleeping Ascanius. Venus, warned by her doves, appears, and, after a quarrel, agrees to Juno's plot regarding Aeneas and Dido. She then bears Ascanius to Ida.
- III. iii. Cupid, as Ascanius, appears with his huntspear and talks to Dido about killing lions.
- IV. i. After the storm he comes in with the rest and asks where his (supposed) father is.
- IV. iv. Neither Ascanius nor Cupid appears on the stage, but Aeneas reminds Dido (29) that she has his son in custody, and Dido agrees that he lay with her this night. Later (105) she bids the nurse take Ascanius to her house in the country, and an attendant (124) reports that this has been done.
- IV. v. The nurse coaxes Cupid-Ascanius to go to her house, describing the orchard and garden, and is infatuated by him.
- V. i, 24. Hermes brings the true Ascanius from Ida to Aeneas, and tells how he has borne Cupid to Cyprus. Aeneas bids Sergestus take Ascanius to the ships.
- V. i, 212. The nurse reports that Ascanius (Cupid) has been stolen during the night.

the Stationers' Company in July, 1593, died on 22 April of the next year. Therefore, if Woodcocke was still alive when the Quarto came out with his name on the title-page, and if the book was not post-dated 1594, it must have been issued between 25 March, 1594, when the Elizabethan year began, and the following 22 April. The best explanation of the fact that, though Woodcocke was an officer of the Stationers' company, this Quarto was not entered for copy-right on the Register, is that it was published almost at the moment of his death.¹

The Restoration bookseller, Francis Kirkman, presumably possessed a copy of this Quarto, for he lists *Dido, Queen of Carthage*, by Marlowe and Nash in his catalogues of 1661 and 1671.² Thence it was mentioned by Edward Phillips in his *Theatrum Poetarum* (1675) and by Anthony Wood. Langbaine (1691) alluded to it as a work which he had never seen, and Malone, at the close of the eighteenth century, called it justly 'one of the scarcest plays in the English language'. Only three copies can at present be found. These are:

1. The Bodleian copy. This was purchased by Malone at Dr. Wright's sale, 2 May, 1787, for what was talked of as a stupendous price, sixteen guineas; and, after Malone's death, in 1812, passed to the Bodleian Library. It is reproduced in facsimile by J. S. Farmer (Tudor Facsimile Texts, 1914). This copy has been badly clipped at the top, and is inlaid, like many of Malone's plays.

2. The Folger copy. Said to have been bought from Yardley, by John Henderson the actor (1747-85), for four-

¹ Woodcocke's successors in business at the shop at which *Dido* was sold (The Black Bear in St. Paul's Churchyard) were Paul Linley and John Flaskett, both retailers of Marlowe quartos. They evidently inherited Woodcocke's right to *Dido*, for when Linley died in 1600 and his holdings were distributed, the Stationers' Register recorded the transfer to Flaskett of (two books) 'Cupydes Journey to hell with the tragedie of *Dido*'. (Cf. Arber's *Transcript* and McKerrow, *Dict. of Printers and Booksellers*.)

² The Rogers & Ley catalogue, 1656, lists the play without author's name; the Archer catalogue of the same year assigns it to 'Christ. Marlow' alone (Greg, *List of Masques*, etc.; Appendix II.).

pence, this copy passed, through Flacton, a bookseller of Canterbury,¹ into the library of the eighteenth-century editor of Shakespeare, Isaac Reed, who gave it to George Steevens—in return, Broughton says, for a set of Holinshed's *Chronicles* of 1587. Steevens evidently regarded the transaction as mere charity on Reed's part, and attested his gratitude by an autograph on the flyleaf: 'This copy was given me by Mr. Reed. Such liberality in a collector of Old Plays is at least as rare as the rarest of our dramatic pieces. G. S.' It was sold in 1800 to the Duke of Roxburghe for £17 and in 1812 to Sir Egerton Brydges for seventeen guineas, whence it passed into the Heber Library and at the Heber sale, 1834, was purchased for £39 by the Duke of Devonshire. Sold with the Devonshire collection of plays to Mr. Henry E. Huntington in 1914, it was later found identical with copy 3, and being a smaller copy, was re-sold to Mr. Herschel V. Jones, at whose sale, 23 January, 1923, it brought \$12,900.² It is now in the possession of Mr. H. C. Folger of New York.

3. The Huntington copy. Bought, 1917, with the Bridgewater House collection. Now in the Henry E. Huntington Library, San Marino, California. This is probably the copy referred to by Broughton in 1830 (*Gentleman's Magazine*, April, 313-315) as being in the collection of the Marquess of Stafford, and by the Heber Catalogue, 1834, as belonging to the Duke of Sutherland.³ It is the finest copy extant.

The excessive rarity of this Quarto and the interest manifested in it by collectors at the end of the eighteenth century caused at least two manuscript copies to be made in the period before it had been reprinted. One of these, (*a*) which I have not seen, is advertised for sale, at 18s., in Thorpe's

¹ *The European Magazine*, June, 1787, says that Reed 'gave a shilling for it to a man at Canterbury'.

² This copy, like the one in the Bodleian, has been trimmed. It is $\frac{1}{16}$ in. shorter in height and $\frac{1}{16}$ in. in width than the Bridgewater-Huntington copy.

³ The second Marquess of Stafford was created Duke of Sutherland, 28 Jan. 1833. He was the principal heir of the last Duke of Bridgewater.

catalogue of 1837 (pt. viii, p. 123), with the description, 'transcribed from a copy in the British Museum ¹ said to be unique, in the autograph of Henderson the actor, with long note by George Steevens, the editor of Shakespeare, on the rarity of the play, and a high eulogium on the private character of the transcriber'. This is said by Lowndes to have belonged to Forster, and to have been sold at Sotheby's, 1860.

(b) Another careful manuscript copy of the Quarto, following the original pagination, was made by Steevens himself and given to Malone, who in turn presented it to J. P. Kemble, the actor, in 1798. It bears Kemble's autograph inscription: 'Collated and Perfect. J. P. K., 1798. This copy was made by George Stevens, and given to me by Edmund Malone.' This passed, with the rest of Kemble's library, into the Devonshire collection, and is now in the Huntington Library.²

The three known copies of the *Dido* Quarto, which have all been collated by the present editor, present no differences of text. Fruitless search has long been made for another copy, which is supposed to have unique value. In a posthumous work of 1748 Bishop Thomas Tanner (1674-1735) refers in a very definite manner to an 'elegiac song' on Marlowe's death by Nashe, which he says was prefixed to the tragedy of *Dido*: 'Petowius [i.e. Henry Petowe, who continued *Hero and Leander*] . . . multa in Marlovii commendationem adfert; hoc etiam facit Tho. Nash in Carmine elegiaco tragoediae Didonis praefixo in obitum Christoph. Marlovii, ubi quatuor ejus tragoediarum mentionem facit, nec non et alterius De duce Guisio' (*Bibliotheca Britannico-Hibernica*, p. 512).

¹ *Sic*, but the British Museum has never had a copy of the *Dido* Quarto.

² I do not think that Kemble ever owned a copy of the original Quarto as Hazlitt and other bibliographers state. His plays were bought by the Duke of Devonshire in 1821, whereas the Devonshire *Dido* was purchased at the Heber sale in 1834. The history of the two transcripts, I suppose, is this: Henderson, the actor, who picked up copy 2, transcribed it for Steevens, who in turn made transcript *b* from it for Malone. This was before 1787, when Malone secured his copy of the original, and also before Steevens got his from Reed.

Tanner was extraordinarily well informed, and he wrote in days when literary forgery could have had no purpose or reward. Thomas Warton, in the third volume of his *History of English Poetry* (1781, p. 435), has a footnote: 'Nashe, in his Elegy prefixed to Marlowe's *Dido*, mentions five of his plays'.

Shortly afterwards the indefatigable Malone wrote to Warton for particulars,¹ and received a reply to the following effect:

'He informed me by letter that a copy of this play was in Osborne's² catalogue in the year 1754; that he then saw it in his shop (together with several of Mr. Oldys's³ books that Osborne had purchased), & that the elegy in question "on Marlowe's untimely death" was inserted immediately after the title-page; that it mentioned a play of Marlowe's entitled *The Duke of Guise* and four others; but whether particularly by name, he could not recollect. Unluckily he did not purchase this rare piece, & it is now God knows where.'

This copy of *Dido* is still God knows where. Since Warton, though inquiry has repeatedly been made, no one has apparently seen the elegy by Nashe. It is needless to comment upon the importance of such a work, expressing the sentiments of a friend, colleague, and fellow-student of Marlowe less than a year after the latter's death. There seems to be no reason to doubt that Tanner and Warton both examined it, though the latter doubtless leaned upon Tanner's printed description when he gave his own, some thirty years after the period at which he says he saw the elegy in Osborne's shop. Neither Tanner nor Warton specifies whether the elegy was printed or in manuscript;

¹ Malone's note on these matters is now affixed to the Bodleian copy of *Dido* and is reproduced in Farmer's facsimile of the play. It is not dated, but as Malone refers in it to the only two copies of *Dido* known to him as in the possession of Dr. Wright and Mr. Reed, it was evidently written before the Wright sale of 1787.

² T. Osborne and J. Shipton had a shop in Gray's Inn. They issued a catalogue for a sale on 11 Nov. 1754 (B.M. 128, i, 8, 9).

³ Wm. Oldys, the antiquary, was in financial straits, 1751-55, being imprisoned for debt during part of this time. His books and manuscript collections were of great value.

but since they do not speak of it as manuscript, it is natural to assume that it was a printed leaf inserted between the title-page and the first page of text. In the three extant copies there is now no preliminary matter. The title-page, with blank verso, occupies the first leaf of signature A, and the play begins on the recto of leaf A2. I conjecture that Nashe's elegy reached the publisher after the Quarto had been printed and was simply pasted in in some copies of the edition.

Dido is the only play in which Marlowe has made sexual love the real centre of the action, and it contains (at least among his plays) his most elaborate portraits of women—portraits which, despite occasional youthful blurrings of the outline, lack neither subtlety nor delicacy of feeling. It is, indeed, a spirited and moving tragedy, deserving the approval it has usually been accorded by dramatic historians; but for the student of Marlowe its value as a work of art is surpassed by its value as an index of the young poet's relation to the classics and to his profession of poetry. The most useful æsthetic criticism is therefore not that which concerns the total effect conveyed by this work of borrowed plot and rather composite style, but that which deals with the many illuminating individual passages where we see the impact of Vergil's splendid gravity upon the most exuberantly romantic of the Elizabethan dramatists, or mark the blend of ardent impulse with austere intellectual insight that best defines Marlowe's view of life.¹

¹ The notes on the text are particularly concerned with these points. References to works of Marlowe other than *Dido* are to the line numbers in the Oxford edition.

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THE TRAGEDY OF
DIDO, QUEEN OF CARTHAGE

DRAMATIS PERSONÆ ¹

JUPITER.
GANYMEDE.
MERCURY, or HERMES.
CUPID.
JUNO.
VENUS.

ÆNEAS.
ASCANIUS, *his son*.
ACHATES.
ILIONEUS.
CLOANTHUS.
SERGESTUS.
OTHER TROJANS.
IARBAS.
CARTHAGINIAN LORDS.

DIDO.
ANNA, *her sister*.
NURSE.

¹ Under the title of 'Actors' this list is given with a different sequence of names on the title-page of Q. The 'Other Trojans', 'Carthaginian Lords', and Nurse are omitted.

ACT I

SCENE I

*Here the curtains draw : there is discovered JUPITER dandling
GANYMEDE upon his knee, and MERCURY lying asleep.*

Jup. Come, gentle Ganymede, and play with me ;

I love thee well, say Juno what she will.

Gan. I am much better for your worthless love,

That will not shield me from her shrewish blows !

To-day, whenas I fill'd into your cups, 5

And held the cloth of pleasance whiles you drank,

She reach'd me such a rap for that I spill'd,

As made the blood run down about mine ears.

Jup. What, dares she strike the darling of my thoughts ?

By Saturn's soul, and this earth-threatening hair, 10

Act I.

Act I, Scene I.] Omitted Q. Otherwise Q marks correctly all the Acts, but ignores scene divisions (except Scene i of Acts III and IV). The place of action in this scene shifts, after line 133, from Olympus to the Carthaginian coast. 10. *hair*] Dyce ; *aire* Q.

S. D. *Here the curtains draw*] One of the important evidences of the use of curtains in the private theatre. In a public playhouse the portion of the scene that occurs on Olympus would doubtless have been represented on the upper stage ; but the presence of Venus, who speaks with Jupiter and then, without changing her position, with Aeneas, shows that the scene was arranged for an undivided stage curtained in front. See Chambers, *Elizabethan Stage*, III. 35, and particularly footnote 3.

S. D. *Mercury*] Dyce, Cunningham, and Bullen alter to *Hermes*, because the Greek name is used later, e.g. 38. This is meticulous inasmuch as the list of 'Actors' on

the title-page calls the god 'Mercurie, or Hermes'. Compare *Hero and Leander*, I. 417-421, where the two names are used within five lines of each other.

1-49. *Come . . . love*] This scene is original with the authors of the play. The hint for it probably came from line 28 of the *Aeneid*, which mentions, among Juno's reasons for displeasure, 'rapti Ganymedis honores'. Compare III, ii. 42-43, below.

6. *cloth of pleasance*] McKerrow quotes the illustrations in *O.E.D.* of 'pleasance' in the sense of a fine kind of lawn or gauze. Compare the reference to *folded lawn*, III. i. 123.

10-11. *this earth-threatening hair*

That, shaken thrice, makes nature's buildings quake,
 I vow, if she but once frown on thee more,
 To hang her, meteor like, 'twixt heaven and earth,
 And bind her, hand and foot, with golden cords,
 As once I did for harming Hercules ! 15

Gan. Might I but see that pretty sport a-foot,
 O, how would I with Helen's brother laugh,
 And bring the gods to wonder at the game !
 Sweet Jupiter, if e'er I pleas'd thine eye,
 Or seemed fair, wall'd-in with eagle's wings, 20
 Grace my immortal beauty with this boon,
 And I will spend my time in thy bright arms.

Jup. What is't, sweet wag, I should deny thy youth ?
 Whose face reflects such pleasure to mine eyes,
 As I, exhal'd with thy fire-darting beams, 25

. . . *quake*] Knutowski points out the borrowing from Ovid. *Met.* i. 179 f. :

'Terrificam capitis concussit terque quaterque
 Caesariem, cum qua terram, mare, sidera movit.'

There is nothing to indicate direct acquaintance with Homer's lines, *Iliad*, i. 528-530.

12-15. *I vow . . . Hercules*] Broughton (MS. notes) was the first to refer to the *Iliad*, xv. 18 ff. Chapman's translation, which was not accessible to Marlowe, reads :

'Forgett'st thou, when I hang'd thee up, how to thy feet I tied
 Two anvils, golden manacles on thy false wrists implied,
 And let thee mercilessly hang from our refined heaven. . . .
 Nor was my angry spirit calm'd so soon, for those foul seas,
 On which, inducing northern flaws, thou shipwrack'dst Hercules.'

No English version of this passage appears to have been extant when the play was written. Arthur Hall's version of the *Iliad*, 1581, rendered only the first ten books.

17. *Helen's brother*] Either Castor

or Pollux, whom the myth represented as enjoying the pleasures of Olympus in alternation. Knutowski, rather doubtfully, sees indebtedness here to *Iliad*, iii. 237 f. ; also to Ovid, *Fasti*, v. 699-730, and possibly Lucian, *Dial. of Gods*, xvi.

19. *Sweet . . . eye*] For Jove's doting on Ganymede compare *Edward II*, line 476 :

'For neuer doted Ioue on Ganimed
 So much as he on cursd Gaueston.'

In the form of the adjuration here there is possibly a reminiscence at first or second hand of Thetis' invocation to Jupiter, *Iliad*, i. 503.

20. *wall'd-in with eagle's wings*] 'This expression is well illustrated by Titian's (?) picture (in the National Gallery) of the rape of Ganymede. In Shakespeare's *Love's Labour's Lost*, act v, sc. 2 (l. 3), we have, "A lady wall'd-about with diamonds" (Dyce).

23. *wag*] Compare below, iii. i. 31, iv. v. 19; also Sir Walter Raleigh's verses to his son, 'The Wag, my pretty knave, betokens thee'; *Midsummer Night's Dream*, i. i. 240, 'waggish boys'.

25. *exhal'd . . . beams*] Grosart

Have oft driven back the horses of the Night,
 Whenas they would have hal'd thee from my sight.
 Sit on my knee, and call for thy content,
 Control proud Fate, and cut the thread of Time :
 Why, are not all the gods at thy command, 30
 And heaven and earth the bounds of thy delight ?
 Vulcan shall dance to make thee laughing sport,
 And my nine daughters sing when thou art sad ;
 From Juno's bird I'll pluck her spotted pride,
 To make thee fans wherewith to cool thy face ; 35
 And Venus' swans shall shed their silver down,
 To sweeten out the slumbers of thy bed ;
 Hermes no more shall show the world his wings,

defines *exhal'd*, 'drawn out (of myself)'. McKerrow cites similar uses in Nashe (III. 248, ll. 481-2) and in Greene's *Menaphon* (Wks., ed. Grosart, VI. 91, 19-24). I think the meaning is rather 'turned into a fiery exhalation', i.e. consumed with burning passion. Marlowe plays with the word *exhalation* in this sense in *Tamburlaine* (246, 1487, 3193).

26. *Have . . . Night*] An allusion to the line of Ovid, *Amores*, I. xiii. 40, quoted in *Doctor Faustus*, l. 1428: 'O lente, lente currite, noctis equi!'

29. *Control . . . Time*] This seems to be a perversion of the ordinary myth of the three Fates and the thread of *life*.

32. *Vulcan . . . sport*] 'This speech is undoubtedly by Marlow, but it is curious that Nashe, in *Summer's Last Will and Testament*, speaks of the amusement caused among the gods by the sight of Vulcan's dancing: "To make the gods merry the celestial clown Vulcan tuned his polt foot to the measure of Apollo's lute, and danced a limping galliard in Jove's starry hall." [Cf. McKerrow's Nashe, III. 294, 1930-33.] In both passages there is perhaps an allusion to the lines in the first book of the *Iliad* (599-600), describing how "unquenchable laughter rose

among the blessed gods when they saw Hephaestus limping through the hall"' (Bullen). McKerrow suggests as a nearer source Erasmus, *Encomium Moriae* (ed. 1816, p. 17): 'Quin et Vulcanus ipse in deorum conviviis agere consuevit, ac modo claudicatione, modo cavillis, modo ridiculis dictis, exhilarare comotationem: tum et Silenus . . . saltare solitus . . .'

33. *my nine daughters*] the Muses, daughters of Jove and Mnemosyne. With the spirit of this line compare *Dr. Faustus* (637-641):

'Haue not I made blinde Homer sing to me
 Of Alexanders loue and Enons death,' etc.

34. *Juno's bird . . . pride*] Compare Marlowe's Ovid, II. vi. 55: 'There *Iuno's bird* displayes his gorgious feather.'

34-35. *From Juno's bird . . . fans*] Compare *Hero and Leander*, II. 11:

'Her painted fan of curled plumes
 let fall.'

Crawford notes Richard Barnfield, *The Affectionate Shepheard*, 1594:

'With Phoenix' feathers shall thy
 face be fann'd,
 Cooling those cheeks that being
 cool'd wax red.'

If that thy fancy in his feathers dwell,
But, as this one, I'll tear them all from him, 40

[*Plucks a feather from Hermes' wings.*

Do thou but say, 'their colour pleaseth me'.

Hold here, my little love; these linked gems,

[*Gives jewels.*

My Juno ware upon her marriage-day,

Put thou about thy neck, my own sweet heart,

And trick thy arms and shoulders with my theft. 45

Gan. I would have a jewel for mine ear,

And a fine brooch to put in my hat,

And then I'll hug with you an hundred times.

Jup. And shalt have, Ganymede, if thou wilt be my love.

Enter VENUS.

Ven. Ay, this is it: you can sit toying there, 50

And playing with that female wanton boy,

Whiles my Æneas wanders on the seas,

And rests a prey to every billow's pride.

Juno, false Juno, in her chariot's pomp,

Drawn through the heavens by steeds of Boreas' 55

brood,

Made Hebe to direct her airy wheels

40, 42. Stage directions added by Dyce. 46. *have*] *have too* conj. Dyce. 47. *in*] *into* Hurst. 49. *shalt*] Hurst; *shall* Q.

46-47. *I would have . . . hat*] The frankly Elizabethan conception of Ganymede's desires needs no comment. Knutowski compares *Tamburlaine*, i. i. (152 f.):

'With costlie jewels hanging at
their eares,
And shining stones vpon their
loftie Crestes.'

Perhaps these nine-syllable lines are meant to convey a tone of childish petulance:

'I | would have | a je|wel for | mine
ear,
And a | fine | brooch to | put in |
my hat.'

50-121. The general source of this passage is indicated by McKerrow: *Aeneid*, i. 223-300 and 50-86.

53, 54.] *billow's pride*, proud billow; *chariot's pomp*, pompous chariot. The frequency of this figure, metonymy, in *Dido* is noteworthy; compare *spotted pride* in line 34 above.

55. *steeds of Boreas' brood*] Compare *Iliad*, xx. 219 ff.

56-57. *Made Hebe . . . clouds*] Note the close translation of 'nimborum in patriam' (*Aen.* i. 51) in line 57. Vergil makes no mention of Hebe. Marlowe seems on his own authority to assign her a function more naturally belonging to

Into the windy country of the clouds ;
 Where, finding Æolus entrench'd with storms,
 And guarded with a thousand grisly ghosts,
 She humbly did beseech him for our bane, 60
 And charg'd him drown my son with all his train.
 Then gan the winds break ope their brazen doors,
 And all Æolia to be up in arms :
 Poor Troy must now be sack'd upon the sea,
 And Neptune's waves be envious men of war ; 65
 Epeus' horse, to Ætna's hill transform'd,
 Prepared stands to wrack their wooden walls ;
 And Æolus, like Agamemnon, sounds
 The surges, his fierce soldiers, to the spoil :
 See how the night, Ulysses-like, comes forth, 70
 And intercepts the day, as Dolon erst !
 Ay, me ! the stars surpris'd, like Rhesus' steeds,

67. *wracke*] Q ; *wreck* Hurst.

72. *surpris'd*] *supprisde* Q.

Iris. Cf., for example, *Aen.*, v. 606 :
'Irim de caelo misit Saturnia Juno.'

63. *Aeolia . . . arms*] 'Aeolia' as the realm of Aeolus is used in the corresponding line of the *Aeneid* (52) : 'Aeoliam venit.' Compare the first scene of 2 *Tamburlaine* (2397, 2401) : 'All Asia is in arms with Tamburlaine,' 'All Affrick is in arms with Tamburlaine.'

66-67. *Epeus' horse . . . walls*] The fatal purpose of the wooden horse is now transferred to Aetna (i.e. the rocks of the Sicilian coast which threaten Troy's 'wooden walls', the fleet of Aeneas). Note the excessive use of antithesis and alliteration throughout this highly artificial passage (ll. 65-69) : *waves—men of war ; Epeus' horse—Aetna's hill ; wrack—wooden walls ; Aeolus—Agamemnon ; sounds—surges—soldiers—spoil.*

70-73. *See how . . . Astraeus' tents*] Knutowski remarks that these lines may be borrowed from the account put into the mouth of Ulysses in Ovid, *Met.* xiii. 239-252. However, the point of lines 70 f. is

that night stealthily intercepts the day as Ulysses intercepted Dolon, and Ovid's verses make no mention of the strategy by which Dolon was intercepted. Hence the poet would seem to have had some acquaintance with Homer's more explicit narrative at the end of the tenth book of the *Iliad*. (The story of Rhesus and his steeds is referred to in *Aen.*, i. 469-473, but without details relevant to the present lines.)

McKerrow quotes Nashe's *Unfortunate Traveller*, 1594 (ii. 220, 22-24 of his edition) : 'Vlysses, Nestor, Diomed went as spies together in the night into the tents of Rhæsus, and intercepted Dolon, the spie of the Troians,' and adds that in the latter passage Nashe seems 'originally to have written "Calipsus" for Rhæsus. The passages seem too much alike to be independent, and the above-mentioned error renders it unlikely that this is the original and the other copied from it ; can we infer that ll. 70-81, or perhaps, more, is Nashe's addition to fill a gap ?'

72. *surpris'd*] Dyce, followed by

Are drawn by darkness forth Astræus' tents.
 What shall I do to save thee, my sweet boy,
 Whenas the waves do threat our crystal world, 75
 And Proteus, raising hills of floods on high,
 Intends, ere long, to sport him in the sky?
 False Jupiter, reward'st thou virtue so?
 What, is not piety exempt from woe?
 Then die, Æneas, in thine innocence, 80
 Since that religion hath no recompense.

Jup. Content thee, Cytherea, in thy care,
 Since thy Æneas' wandering fate is firm,
 Whose weary limbs shall shortly make repose
 In those fair walls I promis'd him of yore. 85
 But, first, in blood must his good fortune bud,
 Before he be the lord of Turnus' town,
 Or force her smile that hitherto hath frown'd:
 Three winters shall he with the Rutiles war,
 And, in the end, subdue them with his sword; 90
 And full three summers likewise shall he waste
 In managing those fierce barbarian minds;
 Which once perform'd, poor Troy, so long suppress'd,
 From forth her ashes shall advance her head,
 And flourish once again, that erst was dead. 95

Bullen, regards the Quarto *sup-prise* as a different word.

73. *Astræus*] Dyce (revised ed.) quotes from Aratus, *Phaenomena*, 98, to show that Astræus was the father of the primeval stars. Bullen cites Hesiod (*Theog.*, 381 f.) to the same effect. Knutowski refers to Ovid, *Met.*, xiv. 545, where, however, 'Astræi . . . fratres' means the winds. Hurst, Robinson, Dyce in his first edition, and Cunningham read *Astræa's*, though the last in his note assumes the correctness of the Quarto text.

76-81. *And Proteus . . . recompense*] Bullen remarks: 'These rhyming lines are suggestive of Nashe' (cf. McKerrow's remarks on ll. 70-73 above). Knutowski would regard ll. 75-77 alone as an inter-

polation by Nashe, on the ground that their omission would not injure the sense, and would produce a sequence of rhetorical questions such as Marlowe frequently uses (citing six instances from *Tamburlaine*).

82-83. *Content . . . firm*] *Aeneid*, i. 257 f.: 'Parce metu, Cytherea: manent immota tuorum | Fata tibi.'

86. *blood . . . bud*] Note the jingle.

89-92. *Three winters . . . minds*] Expanded from *Aen.*, i. 265 f.:

'Tertia dum Latio regnantem
 viderit aestas
 Ternaue transierint Rutulis
 hiberna subactis.'

92. *managing*] taming, bringing under control: a term in horsemanship.

But bright Ascanius, beauty's better work,
 Who with the sun divides one radiant shape,
 Shall build his throne amidst those starry towers
 That earth-born Atlas, groaning, underprops :
 No bounds but heaven shall bound his empery, 100
 Whose azur'd gates, enchased with his name,
 Shall make the morning haste her grey uprise,
 To feed her eyes with his engraven fame.
 Thus in stout Hector's race three hundred years
 The Roman sceptre royal shall remain, 105
 Till that a princess-priest, conceiv'd by Mars,
 Shall yield to dignity a double birth,
 Who will eternish Troy in their attempts.

Ven. How may I credit these thy flattering terms,
 When yet both sea and sands beset their ships, 110
 And Phœbus, as in Stygian pools, refrains
 To taint his tresses in the Tyrrhene main ?

108. *eternish*] Q; *eternize* Hurst.

96-98. *bright Ascanius* . . . towers] The poet here avoids the specific allusions to Roman history introduced by Vergil, *Aen.*, i. 267-271. For the meaning of 97 Knutowski compares 2 *Tamburlaine*, II. iii. (2969-2972), where Zenocrate's beauty is somewhat similarly thought of as giving light to the sun.

99. *That . . . underprops*] *Aen.*, iv. 481 f.,

'ubi maximus Atlas
 Axem humero torquet stellis
 ardentibus aptum.'

Compare below, iv. i. 12 and note.

100. *No bounds . . . bound*] Compare Milton's pun, *P. L.*, iv. 181 :

'At one slight bound high over-
 leaped all bound.'

104-107. *Thus . . . double birth*] A close translation of Vergil, *Aen.*, i. 272-274 :

'Hic iam ter centum totos regna-
 bitur annos

Gente sub Hectorea, donec regina
 sacerdos
 Marte gravis geminam partu dabit
 Ilia prolem.'

106. *conceiv'd*] Used causatively, as again in line 125 below : 'made to conceive'. Hurst and Robinson have the absurd punctuation, *priest-conceiv'd*. McKerrow notes that whereas *princess-priest* precisely answers to the Latin 'regina sacerdos', Phaer's translation of the *Aeneid* (1558) has simply 'Ilia Queene' with no equivalent of 'sacerdos'. Compare note on line 186 below.

108. *eternish*] McKerrow calls this 'a common form, or rather the usual one, of "eternize"'. It occurs again in Nashe's Preface to *Menaphon* (ed. McKerrow, III. 314, 17) and in Lyly. Compare 1 *Contention* (concluding speech), 'Shall be *eternest* in all age to come' (changed to *eterniz'd* in 2 *Henry VI*).

111-112. *Phœbus . . . Tyrrhene main*] The sun, who never visits the Styx, seems to show, by reason of the continued storm, a similar un-

Jup. I will take order for that presently.—

Hermes, awake ! and haste to Neptune's realm,
Whereas the Wind-god warring now with fate, 115
Besieges th' offspring of our kingly loins :
Charge him from me to turn his stormy powers,
And fetter them in Vulcan's sturdy brass,
That durst thus proudly wrong our kinsman's peace.

[*Exit Hermes.*

Venus, farewell ; thy son shall be our care.— 120
Come, Ganymede, we must about this gear.

[*Exeunt Jupiter and Ganymede.*

Ven. Disquiet seas, lay down your swelling looks,
And court Æneas with your calmy cheer,
Whose beauteous burden well might make you
proud,

115. *Wind-god*] *Q* ; *wind-gods* Cunningham. 116. *Besieges*] Dyce ;
Besiege *Q*. *th' offspring*] *the offspring* *Q*. 119. *S. D.* add. Dyce. 121.
S. D.] *Exeunt Iupiter cum Ganimed* *Q*.

willingness to shine upon the Mediterranean. The rays of the sun were commonly alluded to as Apollo's hair or tresses ; see note on 159 below. McKerrow suggests that the word *tint*, written opposite *taint* by Collier in his copy of Dyce, is 'an explanation, rather than an emendation'. In either case it is bad. Dyce explains *taint* as 'dip', not 'stain', and Cunningham rightly dissents : 'As I understand the passage, Marlowe expressly means that Phoebus appears to be as much afraid of dirtying his tresses, as if the Ocean were a "Stygian pool"'. Grosart proposes the meaning 'touch', as in 2 *Tamburlaine*, i. iv. (2609) ; but in *Edward II* (2530) and in *Dido*, iii. i. 73, the word is employed in the sense of discolour, stain, which I think it has here. This speech of Venus (109–112) and Jupiter's reply are not in Vergil.

114. *haste to Neptune's realm*] Vergil says, *Aen.*, i. 297 :

'Haec ait, et Maia genitum demittit
ab alto,

Ut terrae utque (ed. 1596 "atque")
novae pateant Karthaginis arces
Hospitio Teucris, ne fati nescia
Dido
Finibus arceret.'

That is, Hermes is sent, not to Neptune or Aeolus, but to Carthage.

115. *Wind-god*] Aeolus. Cunningham pluralizes, in order to retain grammatically the Quarto *Besiege* in the next line.

121. *this gear*] Compare 1 *Tamburlaine*, ii. ii. 1 (524) ; *Edward II* (2487). The phrase occurs also in the pseudo-Marlovian 'Dialogue in Verse' and in 2 *Henry VI*, but it was, of course, quite conventional.

121. *S. D.* *Exeunt Jupiter and Ganymede*] 'On their going out we are to suppose the scene is changed to a wood on the sea-shore' (Dyce, referring to iii. iii. 50 ff.).

123. *calmy*] There seems to be no other example of this form in Marlowe or in Nashe. 'Hugie' occurs twice in *Tamburlaine* (ii. 1192, 2353).

Had not the heavens, conceiv'd with hell-born
clouds, 125
Veil'd his resplendent glory from your view :
For my sake, pity him, Oceanus,
That erstwhile issu'd from thy watery loins,
And had my being from thy bubbling froth.
Triton, I know, hath fill'd his trump with Troy, 130
And therefore will take pity on his toil,
And call both Thetis and Cymothoe
To succour him in this extremity.

Enter ÆNEAS, ASCANIUS, ACHATES, and others.

What, do I see my son now come on shore ?
Venus, how art thou compass'd with content, 135
The while thine eyes attract their sought-for joys !
Great Jupiter, still honour'd may'st thou be
For this so friendly aid in time of need !
Here in this bush disguised will I stand,

132. *Cymothoe*] conj. Dyce, Bullen ; *Cimodoæ* Q ; *Cymodoce* Hurst.
133. S. D.] *Enter Æneas with Ascanius, with one or two more* Q. 136.
attract] Q ; *attract* conj. Grosart.

127-128. *For my sake . . . That*] For the sake of me who. With lines 127-129 Knutowski compares Ovid's reference to the birth of Venus, *Met.*, v. 536 ff. :

'Aliqua et mihi gratia ponto est,
Si tamen in dio quondam concreta
profundo
Spuma fui.'

130. *Triton . . . hath fill'd his trump with Troy*] Triton's duty, as McKerrow says, was to recall the winds and waves (Ovid, *Met.*, i. 333-335) ; but here the author seems to think of him also as a trumpeter of news.

132. *Cymothoe*] *Aeneid*, i. 144 :

'Cymothoe simul et Triton adnixus
acuto
Detrudunt naves scopulo.'

All the sixteenth-century Vergils that I have seen read *Cymothoe*.

134. *What, . . . shore ?*] 'Perhaps this line should be pointed,

"What do I see ? my son now come on shore !" (Dyce). Cunningham and Bullen adopt this punctuation.

136. *attract*] Grosart notes the occurrence of the word in Nashe's *Summer's Last Will and Testament* (McKerrow's ed., iii. 260, l. 867) :

'I must giue credit vnto what I heare ;

For other than I heare, attract I nought,'

remarking : 'Had it not thus occurred twice, and independently, we might have suspected error for "attract", from *attracto*, "I handle".' McKerrow's note on the passage quoted defines *attract* correctly as 'take in, "swallow"', and cites two other instances in Nashe.

139. *Here in this bush*] A suggestion of practicable scenery. Compare *Aen.*, i. 314 : 'Cui (i.e. to Aeneas) mater media sese tulit obvia silva.'

Whiles my Æneas spends himself in plaints, 140
And heaven and earth with his unrest acquaints.

Æn. You sons of care, companions of my course,
Priam's misfortune follows us by sea,
And Helen's rape doth haunt ye at the heels.
How many dangers have we overpass'd ! 145
Both barking Scylla, and the sounding rocks,
The Cyclops' shelves, and grim Ceraunia's seat
Have you o'ergone, and yet remain alive.
Pluck up your hearts, since Fate still rests our
friend,
And changing heavens may those good days return, 150
Which Pergama did vaunt in all her pride.

Ach. Brave prince of Troy, thou only art our god,
That by thy virtues free'st us from annoy,
And mak'st our hopes survive to coming joys :
Do thou but smile, and cloudy heaven will clear, 155
Whose night and day descendeth from thy brows.
Though we be now in extreme misery,
And rest the map of weather-beaten woe,

144. *ye*] Dyce ; *thee* Q ; *us* Hurst.
Q. 154. *mak'st*] Hurst ; *makes* Q.

147. *Ceraunia's*] Dyce ; *Ceranius*
coming] Dyce ; *cunning* Q.

144. *ye*] 'Here the modern editors [i.e. Hurst and Robinson] print "us" on account of "us" in the preceding line: but compare what immediately follows, "have we overpass'd"—"Have you o'ergone", (Dyce). Bullen retains the emendation of Hurst; Cunningham, Grosart, and McKerrow follow Dyce in reading *ye*. McKerrow makes the plausible suggestion that the original text may have had *that*, written 'y^t' and misread as 'y^e' by the compositor, whence the Quarto *thee*.

146-150. *Both barking Scylla . . . return*] *Aen.*, I. 200-203 :

'Vos et Scyllaeam rabiem penitusque sonantes
Accestis scopulos, vos et Cyclopea saxa

Experti: revocate animos, maestumque timorem
Mittite; forsán et haec olim meminisse iuvabit.'

The mention of the Ceraunian mountains in Epirus is doubtless suggested by *Aen.*, III. 506: 'Provehimur pelago vicina Ceraunia iuxta.'

147. *grim Ceraunia's*] Compare Marlowe's Ovid, II. xi. 19, 'the feard *Cerannia*' (note the spelling).

153. *annoy*] Dyce proposed *annoys* for the sake of rime.

155. *Do thou but smile, and cloudy heaven will clear*] Knutowski cites two similar lines in *Tamburlaine* :

'That with thy looks canst clear the darkened sky.' (line 1220.)
'Whose cheerful looks do clear the cloudy air.' (line 2572.)

Yet shall the aged sun shed forth his hair,
 To make us live unto our former heat, 160
 And every beast the forest doth send forth
 Bequeath her young ones to our scantied food.

Asc. Father, I faint; good father, give me meat.

Æn. Alas, sweet boy, thou must be still a while,
 Till we have fire to dress the meat we kill'd!— 165
 Gentle Achates, reach the tinder box,
 That we may make a fire to warm us with,
 And roast our new found victuals on this shore.

Ven. See what strange arts necessity finds out!

159. *hair*] Mitford conj., Dyce; *aire* Q.

158. *the map of weather-beaten woe*] 'Cf. *Titus Andronicus*, III. ii. 12 (a great part of which I attribute to Marlowe): "Thou map of woe, that thus dost talk in signs" (Bullen). The phrase, however, was common. See McKerrow's note on Nashe, III. 410, 171, footnote, where 'the mappe of woe' is quoted from Deloney's *Seven Champions of Christendom* (1608); also Heywood, *The Captives* (ed. Judson, I. iii. 89), 'The mapp of misfortune and very picture of ill luck'; *Spanish Tragedy*, III. x. 91, 'thine iuorie front, my sorrowes map.'

159. *the aged sun shed forth his hair*] Collier suggested 'azur'd . . . spread' for *aged . . . shed*. Broughton first conjectured '*hair*' for the Quarto *aire*, an alteration introduced by Dyce and subsequent editors. Compare line 10 above, where the Quarto has the same misprint. In each case it occurs at the close of a line, which the compositor was probably carrying in his memory as he set the type. For the meaning—the sun, which now seems so feeble, shall again send forth his beams—compare line 112 above. Broughton collected a number of parallels: Jonson's *Masque of Hymen*:

'Up, youths! hold up your lights in air,

And shake abroad their flaming hair;'

See also his citation from Catullus on the passage. Likewise Pope's *Iliad*, Bk. i. 679–687.

Peele's *Edward I*, Malone Soc. ed., line [2282].

i Henry VI, I. i. 2–3:

Comets, importing change of times and states,
 Brandish your crystal tresses in the sky;'

Love's Labour's Lost, IV. iii. 343: 'bright Apollo's lute, strung with his hair;'

Spenser, *Virgil's Gnat*, 68–69:

'And fayre Aurora, with her rosie heare,
 The hatefull darknes now had put to flight.'

163–165, 174. These human lines are new. Ascanius is not mentioned in the corresponding passage of the *Aeneid*.

165, 168. The episode of the seven deer killed by Aeneas (*Aen.*, I. 180–193) is alluded to only in these lines and in III. iii. 51–53 below.

166. *Gentle Achates, reach the tinder box*] Admirers of Marlowe have been eager to credit this line to Nashe. The source is *Aen.*, I. 174: 'Ac primum silici scintillam excudit Achates.'

169. *See what strange arts neces-*

How near, my sweet Æneas, art thou driven! 170

[*Aside.*

Æn. Hold; take this candle, and go light a fire;
 You shall have leaves and windfall boughs enow,
 Near to these woods, to roast you meat withal.—
 Ascanius, go and dry thy drenched limbs,
 Whiles I with my Achates rove abroad, 175
 To know what coast the wind hath driven us on,
 Or whether men or beasts inhabit it.

[*Exeunt Ascanius and others.*

Ach. The air is pleasant, and the soil most fit
 For cities' and society's supports;
 Yet much I marvel that I cannot find 180
 No steps of men imprinted in the earth.

Ven. Now is the time for me to play my part.— [*Aside.*
 Ho, young men! saw you, as you came,
 Any of all my sisters wandering here,
 Having a quiver girded to her side, 185
 And clothed in a spotted leopard's skin?

170, 177. S. D. added by Dyce. 182. S. D. add. Hurst. 183.
came] Q; *came along* Cunningham (Dyce's conjecture).

sity finds out!] Knutowski finds a
 source in Ovid, *Met.*, vi. 574 f.:
 'grande doloris
 Ingenium est miserisque venit sol-
 lertia rebus.'

Nashe in *Summer's Last Will and Testament* (McKerrow, iii. 243, 304) has a similar saying based on Plautus, *Stichus*, i. iii. 24: 'paupertas omnes perdocet artes.' McKerrow refers to the *Adagia* of G. Cognatus in Erasmus, *Adag.*, 1574, ii. 459, for further parallels.

177. S. D. *Exeunt Ascanius and others]* Dyce's stage direction is probably correct, but McKerrow observes: 'It would seem from lines 166 and 171 that the fire was to be lit close at hand. As Æneas and Achates could "rove abroad" without leaving the stage, perhaps the others could do so also.'

180-181. *cannot find No steps]* Such double negatives are very rare in Marlowe.

183. *Ho, young men! saw you, as you came]* The metrical incompleteness of the verse brings out its exclamatory quality admirably.

183-186. *Ho . . . leopard's skin]* From this point to the end of the scene, as Bullen remarked, Vergil is followed very closely. The present lines are based upon *Æn.*, i. 321-324:

"heus," inquit, "iuvenes,
 monstrate, mearum
 Vidistis si quam hic errantem forte
 sororum,
 Succinctam pharetra et maculosae
 tegmine lyncis,
 Aut spumantis apri cursum clamore
 prementem."

The last line is left untranslated.

Æn. I neither saw nor heard of any such.

But what may I, fair virgin, call your name,
 Whose looks set forth no mortal form to view,
 Nor speech bewrays aught human in thy birth? 190
 Thou art a goddess that delud'st our eyes,
 And shroud'st thy beauty in this borrow'd shape;
 But whether thou the Sun's bright sister be,
 Or one of chaste Diana's fellow nymphs,
 Live happy in the height of all content, 195
 And lighten our extremes with this one boon,
 As to instruct us under what good heaven
 We breathe as now, and what this world is call'd
 On which by tempest's fury we are cast:
 Tell us, O, tell us, that are ignorant! 200
 And this right hand shall make thy altars crack

190. *bewrays*] Q; *betrays* Cunningham. 192. *shroud'st*] Hurst;
shrowdes Q. 198. *as*] Q; *us* Grosart (Collier's conjecture).

186. *clothed in a spotted leopard's skin*] McKerrow notes that Phaer's translation of Vergil has no equivalent of the 'Succinctam . . . maculosae tegmine lyncis'; and that in line 203 below *Dido* again follows the Latin closely where Phaer digresses.

187. *I . . . such*] *Aen.*, i. 326:

'Nulla tuarum audita mihi neque
 visa sororum.'

188. *But what . . . name*] *Aen.*, i. 327: 'O quam te memorem, virgo?'

189-190. *Whose looks . . . birth*] *Aen.*, i. 327-328: 'Namque haud tibi vultus Mortalis, nec vox hominem sonat.'

191-192. Elaborated out of Vergil's single phrase (*Aen.*, i. 328), 'O dea certe,' which, along with the 'O quam . . . virgo' of the previous line, had served Spenser as concluding emblem for the April eclogue of the *Shepherds' Calendar*.

193-194. *But whether . . . nymphs*] The suggestion that Diana was herself one of the nymphs is not in Vergil: 'An Phoebi soror? an

Nympharum sanguinis una?' (*Aen.*, i. 329).

195. *Live . . . content*] Vergil's Aeneas says merely: 'Sis felix.'

196-200. *And lighten . . . ignorant*] A rather clever transposition of *Aen.*, i. 330-333:

'nostrumque leves, quae-
 cumque, laborem,

Et, quo sub caelo tandem, quibus
 orbis in oris

Iactemur, doceas; ignari hominum-
 que locorumque

Erramus, vento huc vastis et flucti-
 bus acti.'

198. *as now*] This phrase is much too well established to warrant the change proposed by Collier.

201-202. *And this . . . sacrifice*] An embellishment of the original (*Aen.*, i. 334): 'Multa tibi ante aras nostra cadet hostia dextra.' Knutowski notes Marlowe's particular love of the epithet *milk-white*, citing the 'milk-white doves' of this play (ii. i. 320) and in *Tamburlaine* 'milk-white steeds' (85), 'milk-white harts' (294), 'milk-white tent' (1259), 'milk-white

With mountain-heaps of milk-white sacrifice.

Ven. Such honour, stranger, do I not affect :

It is the use for Tyrian maids to wear

Their bow and quiver in this modest sort, 205

And suit themselves in purple for the nonce,

That they may trip more lightly o'er the lawnds,

And overtake the tusked boar in chase.

But for the land whereof thou dost enquire,

It is the Punic kingdom, rich and strong, 210

Adjoining on Agenor's stately town,

The kingly seat of Southern Libya,

Whereas Sidonian Dido rules as queen.

But what are you that ask of me these things ?

Whence may you come, or whither will you go ? 215

Æn. Of Troy am I, Æneas is my name ;

Who, driven by war from forth my native world,

Put sails to sea to seek out Italy ;

204. *Tyrian*] Hurst ; *Turen* Q.

flags' (1849), 'hair as white as milk' (2594), 'milk-white robe' (2757), and 'milk-white way' (4111). His statement, however, that the phrase does not occur in Nashe is incorrect.

203. *Such honour . . . affect*] *Aen.*, i. 335 : 'haud equidem tali me dignor honore.' McKerrow notes here also Phaer's much wider divergence from the original : 'As for mine altars (quod she tho) no such estate I beare.'

204-208. *It is . . . chase*] A beautiful amplification of *Aen.*, i. 336-337 :

'Virginibus Tyriis mos est gestare pharetram,
Purpureoque alte suras vincire cothurno.'

The strange spelling of the Quarto, *Turen*, may possibly be intended for 'Tyrrhene', though that does not properly mean Tyrian. In line 112 above and in iv. iv. 101 the Quarto spells it *Tyrrhen*. In *Tamburlaine* the spelling is *Terren* (4525) or, more commonly, *Terrene*. 207. *lawnds*] glades.

210-212. *It is . . . Libya*] *Aen.*,

i. 338-339 :

'Punica regna vides, Tyrios et Agenoris urbem ;
Sed fines Libyci.'

Note the correct quantity of *Agēnor*'s. 'Southern Libya' means no more than Libya situated in the south.

213. *Sidonian Dido*] 'Dido Tyria' in Vergil (i. 340) ; but the other epithet, 'Sidonia Dido', occurs in *Aen.*, i. 446 and elsewhere. The authors of the play omit Vergil's long account of Dido's previous history, *Aen.*, i. 341-368.

214-215. *But what . . . go*] *Aen.*, i. 369-370 :

'Sed vos qui tandem, quibus aut venistis ab oris,
Quove tenetis iter ?'

216-219. *Of Troy . . . sceptred Jove*] Rendered with great freedom from *Aen.*, i. 378-380 :

'Sum pius Aeneas, raptos qui ex hoste Penates

Classe veho mecum, fama super aethera notus.

And my divine descent from sceptred Jove :
 With twice twelve Phrygian ships I plowed the deep, 220
 And made that way my mother Venus led ;
 But of them all scarce seven do anchor safe,
 And they so wrack'd and welter'd by the waves,
 As every tide tilts 'twixt their oaken sides ;
 And all of them, unburden'd of their load, 225
 Are ballasted with billows' watery weight.
 But hapless I, God wot, poor and unknown,
 Do trace these Libyan deserts, all despis'd,
 Exil'd forth Europe and wide Asia both,
 And have not any coverture but heaven. 230

Ven. Fortune hath favour'd thee, whate'er thou be,
 In sending thee unto this courteous coast.
 A' God's name, on ! and haste thee to the court,
 Where Dido will receive ye with her smiles :
 And for thy ships, which thou supposest lost, 235
 Not one of them hath perish'd in the storm,
 But are arrived safe, not far from hence :

223. *wrackt*] Q ; *wreck'd* Hurst.
 233. *A'*] Dyce ; *A* Q ; *In* Hurst.

226. *ballasted*] Q ; *ballasted* Hurst.

Italiam quaero patriam et genus
 ab Iove summo.'

The preceding six lines of Aeneas's
 speech in Vergil have been omitted.

220-221. *With twice twelve . . .*
Venus led] *Aen.*, I. 381-382 :

'Bis denis Phrygium conscendi
 navibus aequor,
 Matre dea monstrante viam.'

The change in the number of ships
 seems arbitrary.

222-226. *But . . . weight*] Made
 from a single line, *Aen.*, I. 383 :

'Vix septem convulsae undis
 Euroque supersunt.'

226. *ballasted*] Compare *ballace*,
 III. i. 125, below.

227-230. *But hapless I . . .*
heaven] Only a line and a half in
 Vergil (I. 384-385) :

'Ipse ignotus, egens, Libyae deserta
 peragro,

Europa atque Asia pulsus.'

231-234. *Fortune . . . smiles*]
Aen., I. 387-389 :

'Quisquis es, haud, credo, invisus
 caelestibus auras
 Vitales carpis, Tyriam qui ad-
 veneris urbem.

Perge modo [*A' God's name, on !*]
 atque hinc te reginae ad limina
 perfer.'

235-237. *And for thy ships . . .*
hence] *Aen.*, I. 390-391 :

'Namque tibi reduces socios
 classemque relatum

Nuntio et in tutum versis Aquiloni-
 bus actam.'

The dramatist omits Venus's quali-
 fying line (*Aen.*, I. 392), 'Ni
 frustra augurium vani docuere
 parentes', and also the succeeding
 comparison of the twelve swans and
 the ships (*Aen.*, I. 393-400). There
 is, of course, a similarity between

And so, I leave thee to thy fortune's lot,
 Wishing good luck unto thy wandering steps. [Exit.
Æn. Achates, 'tis my mother that is fled; 240
 I know her by the movings of her feet.—
 Stay, gentle Venus, fly not from thy son!
 Too cruel, why wilt thou forsake me thus,
 Or in these shades deceiv'st mine eye so oft?
 Why talk we not together hand in hand, 245
 And tell our griefs in more familiar terms?
 But thou art gone, and leav'st me here alone
 To dull the air with my discursive moan. [Exeunt.

SCENE II

*Enter IARBAS, followed by ILIONEUS, CLOANTHUS,
 SERGESTUS, and others.*

Ili. Follow, ye Trojans, follow this brave lord,

244. *shades*] Q; *shapes* conj. Cunningham. *deceiu'st*] Q; *deceive* Cunningham. *eye*] Q; *eyes* Hurst. 245. *talke*] Q; *walk* Cunningham.
 248. S. D. *Exeunt*] *Exit* Q.

Scene II.

Scene II] add. Hurst. *Enter . . . others*] *Enter Illioneus, and Cloanthus* Q.

the supernatural rescue of Aeneas' ships and that of the King of Naples in *The Tempest* (cf. *Tempest*, i. ii. 224-237 and v. i. 230-238).

238-239. *And so . . . steps*] *Æn.*, i. 401:

'Perge modo et, qua te ducit via,
 derige gressum.'

241. *I know . . . feet*] 'Every reader will of course perceive that these words answer to "Et vera incessu patuit dea" in Vergil's celebrated description of Venus re-assuming the marks of divinity (*Æn.*, i. 405),—a description of which our poet did not venture to borrow more, lest the audience should have smiled at its inappropriateness to the actor who "boy'd" the goddess' (Dyce). Compare *Much Ado about Nothing*, ii. i. 121: 'I know you by the wagging of your head.'

242-246. *Stay . . . terms*] Developed from *Æn.*, i. 407-409:

'Quid natum totiens, crudelis tu quoque, falsis

Ludis imaginibus? cur dextrae iungere dextram

Non datur, ac veras audire et reddere voces?'

Cunningham justifies his gratuitous conjecture of *shapes* for *shades* in 244 by the remark that Dryden's Vergil renders 'falsis imaginibus' as *borrowed shapes*.

247-248. *But . . . moan*] Nothing similar in Vergil.

Scene II.

Scene II. 'Within the walls of Carthage' (Dyce). The stage direction in the Quarto is obviously inadequate.

i. *Trojans*] Spelled *Troians* in Q, and so to be pronounced throughout. *brave*] Finely dressed.

And plain to him the sum of your distress.

Iar. Why, what are you, or wherefore do you sue ?

Ili. Wretches of Troy, envied of the winds,
 That crave such favour at your honour's feet, 5
 As poor distressed misery may plead :
 Save, save, O, save our ships from cruel fire,
 That do complain the wounds of thousand waves,
 And spare our lives whom every spite pursues !
 We come not, we, to wrong your Libyan gods, 10
 Or steal your household Lares from their shrines ;
 Our hands are not prepar'd to lawless spoil,
 Nor armed to offend in any kind ;
 [Such force is far from our unweapon'd thoughts,
 Whose fading weal, of victory forsook, 15
 Forbids all hope to harbour near our hearts.

Iar. But tell me, Trojans, Trojans if you be,
 Unto what fruitful quarters were ye bound,
 Before that Boreas buckled with your sails ?

4. *enuied of*] Q ; *envied of all* Everyman.

3. *Iar.*] The speeches of Iarbas in this scene have no counterpart in Vergil. The other speeches are suggested by the long address of Ilioneus to Dido (*Aen.*, i. 522-558), portions of which have here been distributed among the different Trojans.

4-8. *Wretches . . . waves*] *Aen.*, i. 524-525 :

'Troes te miseri, ventis maria omnia vecti,
 Oramus : prohibe infandos a navibus ignes.'

The Latin has no suggestion for lines 6 and 8.

4. *envied*] The pronunciation, *en-vi-ed*, is common.

9. *And spare . . . pursues*] Developed out of three words, *Aen.*, i. 526 : 'parce pio generi.'

10-16. *We come not . . . hearts*] Based on *Aen.*, i. 527-529 :

'Non nos aut ferro Libycos populares Penates

Venimus, aut raptas ad litora vertere praedas ;

Non ea vis animo nec tanta superbia victis.'

Perhaps the repeated pronoun in line 10, *We come not, we*, is an attempt to give the effect of Vergil's emphatic *nos*. Knutowski notes the same kind of repetition in *Jew of Malta*, iv. iii. (1712) :

'The law shall touch you, we'll but lead you, we.'

Compare v. i. 222, 'I know not what you mean by treason, I.' Note the alliterating f's, w's, and h's in lines 14-16.

16. *Forbids . . . hearts*] Compare *Edward II* (2535) :

'O if thou harborst murder in thy hart.'

19. *buckled with*] 'The expression "buckle with" occurs twice in

Clo. There is a place, Hesperia term'd by us, 20
 An ancient empire, famous'd for arms,
 And fertile in fair Ceres' furrow'd wealth,
 Which now we call Italia, of his name
 That in such peace long time did rule the same.
 Thither made we ; 25
 When, suddenly, gloomy Orion rose,
 And led our ships into the shallow sands,
 Whereas the southern wind with brackish breath,
 Dispers'd them all amongst the wrackful rocks :
 From thence a few of us escap'd to land ; 30
 The rest, we fear, are folded in the floods.

29. *wrackfull*] Q; *wreckful* Hurst.

1 *Henry VI*, and once in 3 *Henry VI*: nowhere in Shakespeare's undoubted plays' (Bullen). Cf. 1 *Henry VI*, i. ii. 95; iv. iv. 5; v. iii. 28; 1 *Contention*, line 1946 (omitted in 2 *Henry VI*); 3 *Henry VI*, i. iv. 50.

20-24. *There is . . . the same*] Roughly translated from *Aen.*, i. 530-533:

'Est locus—Hesperiam Grai cog-
 nomine dicunt
 Terra antiqua, potens armis atque
 ubere glæbae;
 Oenotri coluere viri; nunc fama
 minores
 Italiam dixisse ducis de nomine
 gentem.'

Term'd by us in line 20 suggests that the translator read 'Grai' (Greeks) as 'Troes' or some such word. Lines 23 and 24 are so vague that one may suspect the author of the play of not knowing what 'nunc fama . . . gentem' really meant. (All the early Vergils that I have seen have the usual text.)

21. *famous'd for arms*] Compare below, v. i. 275, 'a woman famous'd for arts', and Shakespeare's twenty-fifth Sonnet: 'The painful warrior, famous'd for fight.' The word occurs in two other works by Nashe (*Pierce Penniless* and *Strange News*), but not elsewhere in Marlowe.

25. *Thither made we*] The incomplete line purposely reproduces the effect of Vergil's corresponding verse, *Aen.*, i. 534, which likewise contains but two feet: 'Hic cursus fuit.' Van Dam and Stoffel (*William Shakespeare: Prosody and Text*, p. 230) note that in Surrey's *Aeneid*, lines 85, 870, 1079 of the second and 57 and 292 of the fourth book are of four, six, or eight syllables only, and that in each case the Latin has a curtailed hexameter.

26-30. *When . . . land*] *Aen.*, i. 535-538:

'Cum subito adsurgens fluctu nim-
 bosus Orion
 In vada caeca tulit, penitusque
 procacibus Austris
 Perque undas superante salo per-
 que invia saxa
 Dispulit: huc pauci vestris ad-
 navimus oris.'

The reference to Orion reappears in *Dr. Faustus* (235 f.):

'Now that the gloomy shadow of
 the earth,
 Longing to view *Orions* drisling
 looke.'

31. *folded in the floods*] Somewhat like 'cradled in the deep', but with implication of drowning. This line is independent of Vergil.

- Iar.* Brave men-at-arms, abandon fruitless fears,
 Since Carthage knows to entertain distress.
- Serg.* Ay, but the barbarous sort do threat our ships,
 And will not let us lodge upon the sands ; 35
 In multitudes they swarm unto the shore,
 And from the first earth interdict our feet.
- Iar.* Myself will see they shall not trouble ye :
 Your men and you shall banquet in our court,
 And every Trojan be as welcome here 40
 As Jupiter to silly Baucis' house.
 Come in with me ; I'll bring you to my queen,
 Who shall confirm my words with further deeds.
- Serg.* Thanks, gentle lord, for such unlook'd-for grace :
 Might we but once more see Æneas' face, 45
 Then would we hope to quite such friendly turns,
 As shall surpass the wonder of our speech. [*Exeunt.*

41. *Baucis*] Hurst; *Vausis* Q. 47. *shall*] Q; *all* conj. Dyce; *still* conj. McKerrow. S. D. *Exeunt*] omitted Q.

33. *knows*] knows how.

34-37. *Ay, but . . . feet*] A free but fluent rendering of *Aen.*, I. 539-541 :

'Quod genus hoc hominum ? quaeve
 hunc tam barbara morem
 Permittit patria ? Hospitio pro-
 hibemur harenae ;
 Bella cient, primaque vetant con-
 sistere terra.'

41. *As Jupiter to silly Baucis' house*] This is not in Vergil, but Ovid relates the story of Philemon and Baucis, *Met.*, VIII. 624-724. McKerrow refers to Lyly, *Euphues and his England* (ed. Bond, II. 81,

9) : 'you shall be no lesse welcome then *Iupiter* was to *Bacchus* [*sic*]'. Compare also Greene's *Alcida*, 1588 (ed. Grosart, ix. 19) : 'poore Philemon & Bawcis his wife entertained Iupiter himselfe, supt him & lodged him.' *Silly* here means 'simple'.

44-47. *Thanks . . . speech*] Suggested in a general way by *Aen.*, I. 544-548 : 'Rex erat Aeneas nobis . . . Quem si fata virum servant, . . . Non metus.'

46. *quite*] requite.

47. *As . . . speech*] As we shall not attempt to do justice to in words.

ACT II

SCENE I

Enter ÆNEAS, ACHATES, ASCANIUS, and others.

Æn. Where am I now? these should be Carthage walls.

Ach. Why stands my sweet Æneas thus amaz'd?

Æn. O my Achates, Theban Niobe,

Who for her sons' death wept out life and breath,

And, dry with grief, was turn'd into a stone, 5

Had not such passions in her head as I!

Methinks, that town there should be Troy, yon Ida's
hill,

Act II, S. D.] *Enter Æneas, Achates, and Ascanius Q.*

Act II.

1. *Where am I now?*] 'According to the Vergilian account Aeneas first sees Carthage from a hill overlooking the town (*Aen.*, i. 418 ff.). Descending thence he is enveloped in a cloud and passes unseen into the midst of the city, where is a grove and a temple of Juno. In this temple he sees depicted the tale of Troy (*Aen.*, i. 446 ff.). He is apparently accompanied by Achates alone. It seems to me evident that in this scene the locality is intended to change while the action is in progress; a fiction to which several parallels might be found' (McKerrow). The first scene of this play exhibits such a parallel; others, cited by McKerrow, are in *George a Greene*, *Romeo and Juliet*, and *The White Devil*.

these should be Carthage walls] The closest parallel in Vergil is *Aen.*, i. 459-460:

"Quis iam locus," inquit, "Achate,

Quae regio in terris nostri non
plena laboris?"

W. Wagner ('Emendationen und Bemerkungen zu Marlowe,' *Shakespeare-Jahrbuch*, xi. 1876) observes that nothing has so far been said of Carthage, and proposes to read *Trojan walls*, regarding *Carthage* as the change of a 'vorwitziger Copyist oder Corrector', perhaps suggested by line 62 below. The inconsistency is of the kind that no spectator observes. (Professor Case notes that, while Carthage has not before been specifically named, Æneas seems to understand Venus' mention of it above [i. i. 211] as 'Agenor's stately town'.)

3. *Theban Niobe*] The story is told at length by Ovid, *Met.*, vi.

7. *Methinks . . . hill*] Hexameter lines are far from uncommon in Marlowe's early plays; the two parts of *Tamburlaine* contain some thirty examples. Dyce printed *Methinks* as a separate line, and Mitford proposed the omission of

There Xanthus' stream, because here's Priamus ;
And when I know it is not, then I die.

Ach. And in this humour is Achates too ; 10

I cannot choose but fall upon my knees,
And kiss his hand. O, where is Hecuba ?
Here she was wont to sit ; but, saving air,
Is nothing here ; and what is this but stone ?

Æn. O, yet this stone doth make Æneas weep ! 15

And would my prayers (as Pygmalion's did)
Could give it life, that under his conduct
We might sail back to Troy, and be reveng'd
On these hard-hearted Grecians which rejoice
That nothing now is left of Priamus. 20
O, Priamus is left, and this is he !

Come, come aboard ; pursue the hateful Greeks.

Ach. What means Æneas ?

Æn. [Achates, though mine eyes say this is stone,
Yet thinks my mind that this is Priamus ; 25
And when my grieved heart sighs and says no,
Then would it leap out to give Priam life.—
O, were I not at all, so thou mightst be !—
Achates, see, King Priam wags his hand !
He is alive ; Troy is not overcome ! 30

Ach. Thy mind, Æneas, that would have it so,
Deludes thy eyesight ; Priamus is dead.

Æn. Ah, Troy is sack'd, and Priamus is dead !
And why should poor Æneas be alive ?

8. *Xanthus'*] *Zanthus Q.* 8. S. D. *Pointing to a statue* Grosart.

town there. Compare below, III. iv. 43, v. i. 228.

14. *here*] I.e. the place beside Priam, which in life Hecuba would have occupied, has been left vacant.

what is this but stone ?] 'I.e. (as plainly appears from what follows) a statue, in opposition to Vergil, who makes Aeneas see, in the temple of Juno built by Dido, a *picture* of Priam, &c.' (Dyce). Compare *Æn.*, I. 456-493. There is no verbal

similarity, except in Aeneas's recognition of the figure of Priam : 'En Priamus !' (*Æn.*, I. 461).

16. *as Pygmalion's did*] Cf. Ovid, *Met.*, x. 243 ff. Vergil does not allude to the myth, but it is perhaps worth remarking that in *Æn.*, I. 347 ff. he speaks of another Pygmalion, who was brother to Dido.

24-30. *Achates . . . overcome*] Compare Shakespeare's similarly naïve treatment of the same Ver-

Asc. Sweet father, leave to weep ; this is not he, 35
For, were it Priam, he would smile on me.

Ach. Æneas, see, here come the citizens :
Leave to lament, lest they laugh at our fears.

Enter CLOANTHUS, SERGESTUS, ILIONEUS, *and others.*

Æn. Lords of this town, or whatsoever style
Belongs unto your name, vouchsafe of ruth 40
To tell us who inhabits this fair town,
What kind of people, and who governs them ;
For we are strangers driven on this shore,
And scarcely know within what clime we are.

Ili. I hear Æneas' voice, but see him not, 45
For none of these can be our general.

Ach. Like Ilioneus, speaks this nobleman,
But Ilioneus goes not in such robes.

Serg. You are Achates, or I deceiv'd.

38. *fears*] Q ; *tears* conj. Collier. 38. *S. D. and others*] add. Dyce (cf. 58 below). 47. *nobleman*] Noble man Q. 49. *I deciu'd*] Q ; *I am deceiv'd* Dyce.

gilian painting in *Lucrece*, 1366-1568, and for Shakespeare's treatment of realism in sculpture cf. *Winter's Tale*, v. iii. 23 ff.

39 ff. *Lords of this town*, etc.] ' In Vergil, Dido enters and, shortly after, Cloanthus, Sergestus, and other Trojans approach, accompanied by a crowd. Ilioneus then addresses Dido in the speech already used in the preceding scene (i. ii. 4 ff.). Dido laments the absence of Aeneas and he reveals himself (*Aen.*, i. 586 ff.). Ascanius has remained with the ships and Achates is sent to fetch him (643-646), but Venus has substituted Cupid and it is he who is brought by Achates to Dido, while the real Ascanius is conveyed by Venus to the groves of Idalia (691-694). In the play the real Ascanius is brought to Dido, and the substitution takes place later (lines 304 ff. of the present scene). Then in Vergil follows the banquet (*Aen.*, i. 705-706), which in the play is merely referred

to (line 71), after which Dido asks for the story of the fall of Troy (*Aen.*, i. 753-756 ; *Dido*, ii. i. 106 ff.) ' (McKerrow).

45-46. *I hear . . . general*] These lines and the next two are a striking example of the way clothes make the man on the Elizabethan stage. The author's purpose is evidently to reproduce something of the effect of Vergil's recognition scene (*Aen.*, i. 586 ff.) where the cloud in which Aeneas and Achates have been enveloped suddenly disappears.

47. *Ilioneus*] ' Is it necessary to observe that a wrong quantity is given to this name ? ' (Dyce). In Latin the word is a quadrisyllable with the two middle vowels both short. There seems no way of determining whether Marlowe and Nashe pronounced : Il-i-ô-neus or Il-yo-né-us. Either will fit the English verses.

49. *You . . . deceiv'd*] A typical syllabic-pause line : ' You are |

Ach. Æneas ! see, Sergestus, or his ghost ! 50

Ili. He names Æneas ; let us kiss his feet.

Clo. It is our captain ; see, Ascanius !

Serg. Live long Æneas and Ascanius !

Æn. Achates, speak, for I am overjoy'd.

Ach. O Ilioneus, art thou yet alive ? 55

Ili. Blest be the time I see Achates' face !

Clo. Why turns Æneas from his trusty friends ?

Æn. Sergestus, Ilioneus, and the rest,

Your sight amaz'd me. O, what destinies

Have brought my sweet companions in such plight ? 60

O, tell me, for I long to be resolv'd !

Ili. Lovely Æneas, these are Carthage walls ;

And here Queen Dido wears th' imperial crown,

Who for Troy's sake hath entertain'd us all,

And clad us in these wealthy robes we wear. 65

Oft hath she ask'd us under whom we serv'd ;

And, when we told her, she would weep for grief,

Thinking the sea had swallow'd up thy ships ;

And, now she sees thee, how will she rejoice !

Serg. See, where her servitors pass through the hall, 70

Bearing a banquet : Dido is not far.

Ili. Look, where she comes ! Æneas, view her well.

Æn. Well may I view her, but she sees not me. *b/c queen?*

Enter DIDO, ANNA, IARBAS, and train.

Dido. What stranger art thou, that dost eye me thus ?

Æn. Sometime I was a Trojan, mighty queen ; 75

51. *names*] Hurst ; *meanes* Q. 72. *view*] Hurst ; *viewd* Q. 73. S. D.
Enter . . . train] Dyce ; *Enter Dido and her traine* Q.

Acha[tes, | or I | deceiv'd.' Dyce's substituted syllable weakens the effect, and is certainly not required for clarity.

51. *names*] This emendation has been adopted by all editors. The words *meanes Aeneas* occur correctly in 23, just twenty-eight lines above. Is it possible that in the

manuscript this line was opposite 51 and so caught the printer's eye ?

70. *See . . . hall*] Dyce's explanation is : ' Here, or at any rate a little after, a change of scene is supposed,—to the hall of Dido's palace.' See note on line 1 above.

72. *view*] Editors are unanimous in altering the Quarto *viewd*. If

But Troy is not :—what shall I say I am ?

Ili. Renowned Dido, 'tis our general,
Warlike Æneas.

Dido. Warlike Æneas, and in these base robes !—
Go fetch the garment which Sichæus ware.— 80
[*Exit an Attendant who brings in the garment,*
which Æneas puts on.

Brave prince, welcome to Carthage and to me,
Both happy that Æneas is our guest.
Sit in this chair, and banquet with a queen :
Æneas is Æneas, were he clad
In weeds as bad as ever Irus ware. 85

Æn. This is no seat for one that's comfortless :
May it please your grace to let Æneas wait ;
For though my birth be great, my fortune's mean,
Too mean to be companion to a queen.

Dido. Thy fortune may be greater than thy birth : 90
Sit down, Æneas, sit in Dido's place ;
And, if this be thy son, as I suppose,
Here let him sit.—Be merry, lovely child.

Æn. This place beseems me not ; O pardon me !

Dido. I'll have it so ; Æneas, be content. 95

Asc. Madam, you shall be my mother.

Dido. And so I will, sweet child.—Be merry, man :
Here's to thy better fortune and good stars. [*Drinks.*

Æn. In all humility, I thank your grace.

Dido. Remember who thou art ; speak like thyself : 100
Humility belongs to common grooms.

80. S. D. add. Dyce. 98. S. D. add. Dyce.

the manuscript had the spelling *viewe*, the printer could very easily have misread the final letter as 'd'. In some Elizabethan hands *d* and *e* are practically indistinguishable.

78. *Warlike Aeneas*] In the Quarto these words are printed as part of the preceding line. It is possible that they were inad-

vertently caught up from line 79, but the repetition is dramatically effective.

85. *In weeds . . . Irus ware*] Cf. *Odyssey*, Book XVIII. Knutowski notes that Irus is mentioned also in Ovid, *Her.* i. 95 f. In Homer it is the badness of Ulysses' weeds, rather than those of Irus, that is described.

Æn. And who so miserable as Æneas is ?

Dido. Lies it in Dido's hands to make thee blest,

Then be assur'd thou art not miserable.

Æn. O Priamus, O Troy, O Hecuba ! 105

Dido. May I entreat thee to discourse at large,

And truly too, how Troy was overcome ?

For many tales go of that city's fall,

And scarcely do agree upon one point :

Some say Antenor did betray the town ; 110

Others report 'twas Sinon's perjury ;

But all in this, that Troy is overcome,

And Priam dead ; yet how, we hear no news.

Æn. A woful tale bids Dido to unfold,

Whose memory, like pale Death's stony mace, 115

Beats forth my senses from this troubled soul,

And makes Æneas sink at Dido's feet.

Dido. What, faints Æneas to remember Troy,

In whose defence he fought so valiantly ?

Look up, and speak. 120

Æn. Then speak, Æneas, with Achilles' tongue :

And, Dido, and you Carthaginian peers,

Hear me ; but yet with Myrmidons' harsh ears,

Daily inur'd to broils and massacres,

Lest you be mov'd too much with my sad tale. 125

The Grecian soldiers, tir'd with ten years' war,

102. *And who . . . is*] Scan :
'And who | so mis'r|'ble as |
Aene|as is.'

104. *Then . . . miserable*] Scan :
'Then be | assur'd | thou art | not
mi|ser'ble.' The alternative is to
take this as a feminine-ending line
and 102 as a hexameter, which is
less likely. Compare III. i. 168.

108-111. McKerrow notes that
this is not in Vergil. The allusion
to Sinon's perjury comes, of course,
from *Aen.*, II. 57 ff., with verbal
reminiscence perhaps of the 'per-
iurique arte Sinonis' of *Aen.*, II. 195.

110. *Some say Antenor did betray
the town*] This was in the mediaeval
versions of the Troy story. Dido

politely omits to mention that the
same authorities linked the name of
Aeneas with that of Antenor. Cf.
Caxton, *Recuyell of the Historyes of
Troye*, Sommer's ed., p. 660.

114-288. 'The whole of Aeneas's
description of the fall of Troy is
from *Aen.*, II., though the Latin is
not followed closely in arrangement
and in some other points, and there
are certain additions, especially at
the end' (McKerrow).

123. *with Myrmidons' harsh ears*] *Aen.*, II. 6-8 : 'Quis talia fando
Myrmidonum . . . Temperet a
lacrimis ?'

126-140. *The Grecian . . . clouds*] *Knutowski* sees borrowing from

Began to cry, 'Let us unto our ships,
 Troy is invincible, why stay we here?'
 With whose outcries Atrides being appall'd,
 Summon'd the captains to his princely tent; 130
 Who, looking on the scars we Trojans gave,
 Seeing the number of their men decreas'd,
 And the remainder weak and out of heart,
 Gave up their voices to dislodge the camp,
 And so in troops all march'd to Tenedos: 135
 Where when they came, Ulysses on the sand
 Assay'd with honey words to turn them back;
 And, as he spoke, to further his intent,
 The winds did drive huge billows to the shore,
 And heaven was darken'd with tempestuous clouds; 140
 Then he alleg'd the gods would have them stay,
 And prophesied Troy should be overcome:
 And therewithal he call'd false Sinon forth,
 A man compact of craft and perjury,

Iliad, II., but the similarities are not close. Most of the passage could be developed from *Aen.*, II. 108 ff. Ovid, *Met.*, XIII., has the story also.

134. *Gave . . . voices*] voted. Cf. *Coriolanus*, II. iii. 40, etc.

135. *march'd to Tenedos*] Dyce cites Harington's version of *Orlando Furioso*, x. st. 16:

'Now had they lost the sight of
 Holland shore,
 And *marcht* with gentle gale in
 comely ranke,'

but adds that it 'will hardly be thought sufficient to vindicate our author from the imputation of a blunder in geography'. Bullen thinks Marlowe amply vindicated, a conclusion not justified by study of the entire context. Vergil distinctly states that Tenedos is an island, *Aen.*, II. 21 f.: 'Est in conspectu Tenedos, notissima fama Insula.' Yet it seems clear that the English poet thought of the place as the Greeks' point of embarkation on the main land, just as in *Tambur-*

laine (l. 3056) Marlowe thought of it as the seaport of Troy:

'And drew a thousand ships to
 Tenedos.'

The mistake comes from the mediaeval historians of Troy; cf. Caxton, *Recuyell* (Sommer's ed., p. 534), where the coming of Paris and Helen to Troy is described: 'on the seuenth day they cam and Arruyd at the porte of troye theyr shippes full of good prisonners and of good Rychesses And they abood at the porte of *thenedon* that was but thre myle fro Troye.' See also, *ibid.*, pp. 552, 555, 556. Heywood, *2 Iron Age*, I. (ed. Pearson, p. 370), has a passage very similar to the present, where the discouraged Greeks are bidden 'take downe your Tents, march backe to *Tenedos*'.

137. *Assay'd . . . back*] Crawford suggests that these words are echoed in Nashe's *Unfortunate Traveller* (ed. McKerrow, II. 288, 10): 'assaied her with honie speech'; but the phrase is much too common to be significant.

Whose ticing tongue was made of Hermes' pipe 145
 To force an hundred watchful eyes to sleep ;
 And him, Epeus having made the horse,
 With sacrificing wreaths upon his head,
 Ulysses sent to our unhappy town ;
 Who, grovelling in the mire of Xanthus' banks, 150
 His hands bound at his back, and both his eyes
 Turn'd up to heaven, as one resolv'd to die,
 Our Phrygian shepherds hal'd within the gates,
 And brought unto the court of Priamus ;
 To whom he us'd action so pitiful, 155
 Looks so remorseful, vows so forcible,
 As therewithal the old man, overcome,
 Kiss'd him, embrac'd him, and unloos'd his bands :
 And then—O Dido, pardon me !
Dido. Nay, leave not here ; resolve me of the rest. 160
Aen. O, th' enchanting words of that base slave
 Made him to think Epeus' pine-tree horse
 A sacrifice t' appease Minerva's wrath !
 The rather, for that one Laocoon,
 Breaking a spear upon his hollow breast, 165
 Was with two winged serpents stung to death.
 Whereat aghast, we were commanded straight

150. *Xanthus'* *Zanthus* Q. 153. *shepherds*] Hurst; *shepherd* Q.
 161. *th' inchaunting*] Q; *the enchanting* Hurst.

145-146. *Whose . . . sleep*] From Ovid, *Met.*, i. 668-714, where is related the tale of the hundred-eyed Argus, put to sleep by Hermes' pipe.' The word *ting* was a favourite with the authors of this play. It occurs again in line 300 of the present scene and in iv. iii. 31 and in v. i. 277. *Tice* occurs in v. i. 249 and in 1 *Tamburlaine* i. ii. (419); also in Nashe's *Christ's Tears* and *Unfortunate Traveller*.

153. *Phrygian shepherds*] *Aen.*, ii. 58-59, 'Pastores . . . Dardanidae.' The emendation is accepted by all editors.

155-156. *To whom . . . forcible*]

These lines summarize the effect of the long speech of Sinon, *Aen.*, ii. 69-144.

157-158. *As . . . bands*] *Aen.*, ii. 146-147:

'Ipse viro primus manicas atque
 arta levare
 Vincula iubet Priamus.'

159. *And then . . . me*] The tetrameter is evidently intentional.

161-166. A concise summary of *Aen.*, ii. 152-231.

167-168. Cf. *Aen.*, ii. 232-233:

'Ducendum ad sedes simulacrum,
 orandaque divae Numina conclamant.'

With reverence to draw it into Troy :
 In which unhappy work was I employ'd.
 These hands did help to hale it to the gates, 170
 Through which it could not enter, 'twas so huge,—
 O, had it never enter'd, Troy had stood !
 But Priamus, impatient of delay,
 Enforc'd a wide breach in that rampir'd wall,
 Which thousand battering-rams could never pierce, 175
 And so came in this fatal instrument :
 At whose accursed feet, as overjoy'd,
 We banqueted, till, overcome with wine,
 Some surfeited, and others soundly slept.
 Which Sinon viewing, caus'd the Greekish spies 180
 To haste to Tenedos, and tell the camp.
 Then he unlock'd the horse ; and suddenly,
 From out his entrails, Neoptolemus,
 Setting his spear upon the ground, leapt forth,
 And after him a thousand Grecians more, 185
 In whose stern faces shin'd the quenchless fire

169-176. In which . . . instrument] A rough rendering of *Aen.*, II. 234-240 :

' Dividimus muros et moenia pandimus urbis.

. . . Scandit fatalis machina muros . . .

Illa subit, mediaeque minans inlabitur urbi.'

The specific Vergilian details are omitted, and some quite Marlovian rhetoric substituted.

177-179. At whose . . . slept] In Vergil the scene is much less Bacchanalian, *Aen.*, II. 252-253 :

' Fusi per moenia Teucriconticuere ; sopor fessos complectitur artus ;'

but line 265 mentions 'urbem somno vinoque sepultam'.

180-181. Which . . . camp] Vergil (254-257) narrates the return of the Greek fleet, but does not mention the complicity of Sinon in sending spies.

182. Then he unlock'd the horse]

Aen., II. 258-259 : 'et pinea furtim Laxat claustra Sinon.'

183-190. From out his entrails . . . cried] Vergil's account (*Aen.*, II. 259-267) is staid and matter of fact compared with this.

For parallels to this splendid passage compare *Dr. Faustus* (1328),

'Was this the face that lanch't a thousand shippes,' etc. ;

1 *Tamburlaine*, I. i. (140), 'Least you subdue the pride of Christendome' ; 2 *Tamburlaine*, II. iii. (3055 f.).

185. a thousand Grecians] Absurd, of course, as a literal estimate of the number in the wooden horse ; but Marlowe was notably fond of the word *thousand*. Compare, below, v. i. 39, 204.

186. quenchless] Bullen remarks : 'This epithet alone would show that the passage is Marlowe's. Cf. *Edward II* (2030), "Heauens turne it to a blaze of quencheless fier."'

That after burnt the pride of Asia.
 By this, the camp was come unto the walls,
 And through the breach did march into the streets,
 Where, meeting with the rest, 'Kill, kill!' they
 cried. 190
 Frighted with this confused noise, I rose,
 And, looking from a turret, might behold
 Young infants swimming in their parents' blood,
 Headless carcasses pil'd up in heaps,
 Virgins half-dead, dragg'd by their golden hair, 195
 And with main force flung on a ring of pikes,
 Old men with swords thrust through their aged sides,
 Kneeling for mercy to a Greekish lad,
 Who with steel pole-axes dash'd out their brains.
 Then buckled I mine armour, drew my sword 200
 And thinking to go down, came Hector's ghost,
 With ashy visage, blueish sulphur eyes,

Compare also 2 *Tamburlaine*, II. ii. (2945), 'The Dyuils there in chaines of quencelesse flame,' and III. v. (3529), 'All brandishing their brands of quenchlesse fire,' and *Massacre at Paris* (107), 'my quenches thirst whereon I builde.'

190. 'Kill, kill!' they cried] The Greeks raise the terrible cry of the Guisians at the Massacre of St. Bartholomew; compare *Massacre at Paris* (339, 539).

191-199. *Frighted . . . brains*] This lurid passage has no counterpart in Vergil. In the *Aeneid* the hero is awaked by the apparition of Hector's ghost. Tales of recent atrocity at Paris and at Antwerp have evidently been drawn upon by the author. The *ring of pikes* in line 196 suggests Parma's Spanish infantry. Cf. 2 *Tamburlaine*, III. ii. (3289),

'A ring of pikes, mingled with shot and horse.'

194. *Headless . . . heaps*] A nine-syllable line, effectively employed: 'Head|less car|kasses| pil'd up| in heaps.' Note also the

alliteration. Dyce, Cunningham, and Bullen mark *piléd* as a dissyllable, which injures the rhythm unless we pronounce *cark'ses*.

201. *came Hector's ghost*] 'As we have at line 207 *Burst from the earth*, Mr. P. A. Daniel would read "brave Hector's ghost". But a writer may, as it were, repeat his phrase after a parenthetical description of six lines in length' (Grosart, *Glossarial Index*, s.v. 'Hector's ghost'). Examples of anacoluthon are not uncommon in Marlowe's early writings; compare 1 *Tamburlaine* (1849 ff., 2017); also *Dr. Faustus* (1218-1219), *Massacre at Paris* (930-931), and v. i. 235 below.

202. *With . . . eyes*] Vergil has nothing similar to this. Bullen refers to J. A. Symonds' excellent criticism of this passage in *Shakespeare's Predecessors*, p. 664 f. 'He contrasts Virgil's reserve with Marlowe's exaggeration; and remarks that "even Shakespeare, had he dealt with Hector's as he did with Hamlet's father's ghost, would have sought to intensify the terror of the apparition at the expense of artistic

His arms torn from his shoulders, and his breast
Furrow'd with wounds, and, that which made me
weep,

Thongs at his heels, by which Achilles' horse 205
Drew him in triumph through the Greekish camp,—
Burst from the earth, crying 'Æneas, fly!
Troy is a-fire, the Grecians have the town!'

Dido. O Hector, who weeps not to hear thy name?

Æn. Yet flung I forth, and, desperate of my life, 210
Ran in the thickest throngs, and with this sword
Sent many of their savage ghosts to hell.
At last came Pyrrhus, fell and full of ire,
His harness dropping blood, and on his spear ✓
The mangled head of Priam's youngest son; ✓ 215
And after him his band of Myrmidons,
With balls of wild-fire in their murdering paws,
Which made the funeral flame that burnt fair
Troy:

All which hemm'd me about, crying, 'This is he!'

Dido. Ah, how could poor Æneas scape their hands? 220

beauty." Compare Warwick's words in *1 Contention* (1110-1111):

'Oft haue I seene a timely parted
ghost,
Of ashie semblance, pale and
bloodlesse.'

Marlowe does not elsewhere use the word *ashy*.

203-206. *His arms . . . camp*] A rather violent intensification of *Aen.*, II. 272-273:

'Raptatus bigis, ut quondam,
aterque cruento
Pulvere, perque pedes traiectus
lora tumentes.'

207-208. *Aeneas . . . town*] This is all that corresponds to the long exchange of speeches between Aeneas and the ghost, *Aen.*, II. 281-295.

210-211. *Yet . . . throngs*] Crawford compares *2 Tamburlaine*, III. ii. (3329 f.):

'But then run desperate through
the thickest throngs,
Dreadlesse of blowes.'

212. *Sent . . . hell*] *Aen.*, II. 398: 'multos Danaum demittimus Orco.'
Lines 210-212 summarize *Aen.*, II. 313-468.

213-218. *At last . . . Troy*] Suggested by *Aen.*, II. 469-478.

214-215. *on his spear . . . son*] Another example of heightened horror. In Vergil (II. 526 ff.) Polites, 'unus natorum Priami,' is pursued into Priam's presence and there slain by Pyrrhus, but there is no mention of the mangled head on the spear. The sight of his son's death arouses anger and courage in Priam, whom Vergil makes more heroic than Marlowe.

217. *balls of wild-fire*] *Aen.*, II. 477-478: 'omnis Scyria pubes (i.e. the followers of Pyrrhus) . . . flammās ad culmina iactant.' But Marlowe is probably thinking

Æn. My mother Venus, jealous of my health,
 Convey'd me from their crooked nets and bands ;
 So I escap'd the furious Pyrrhus' wrath :
 Who then ran to the palace of the king,
 And at Jove's altar finding Priamus, - 225
 About whose wither'd neck hung Hecuba,
 Folding his hand in hers, and jointly both
 Beating their breasts, and falling on the ground,
 He, with his falchion's point rais'd up at once,
 And with Megæra's eyes, star'd in their face, 230
 Threatening a thousand deaths at every glance.
 To whom the aged king thus, trembling, spoke :
 ' Achilles' son, remember what I was,
 Father of fifty sons, but they are slain ;
 Lord of my fortune, but my fortune's turn'd ; 235
 King of this city, but my Troy is fir'd ;
 And now am neither father, lord, nor king :
 Yet who so wretched but desires to live ?
 O, let me live, great Neoptolemus !'
 Not mov'd at all, but smiling at his tears, 240
 This butcher, whilst his hands were yet held up,
 Treading upon his breast, strook off his hands.

Dido. O, end, *Æneas* ! I can hear no more.

242. *strooke*] *Q* ; *struck* Hurst.

of the 'Greek fire' at Constantinople. In 1 *Tamburlaine*, v. ii. (2092) the mad Zabina says : ' giue me the sworde with a ball of wildefire vpon it.' Cf. 2 *Tamburlaine*, III. ii. (3230-3232) :

' As if Bellona, Goddess of the war,
 Threw naked swords and sulphur
 bals of fire

Vpon the heads of all our enemies.'

221-222. *My mother . . . bands*] Suggested by *Aen.*, II. 589-620.

223. *So . . . wrath*] The adventure suggested by this line and lines 219-220 is not in Vergil. In the *Aeneid* the hero is thinking of slaying Helen when Venus comes to

him. He and Pyrrhus do not directly meet.

224-264. *Who . . . burnt*] A much abbreviated, but more horrid, summary of *Aen.*, II. 469-559.

230. *with Megæra's eyes*] Vergil alludes in *Aen.*, XII. 846 to 'Tartaream . . . Megæram,' one of the three Furies.

231. *Threatening . . . glance*] Crawford noted that this is identical with a line in *Hero and Leander*, I. 382 :

'Threatening a thousand deaths at euerie glance.'

It is there also used of the Fates.

Æn. At which the frantic queen leap'd on his face,
 And in his eyelids hanging by the nails, 245
 A little while prolong'd her husband's life.
 At last, the soldiers pull'd her by the heels,
 And swung her howling in the empty air,
 Which sent an echo to the wounded king :
 Whereat he lifted up his bed-rid limbs, 250
 And would have grappled with Achilles' son,
 Forgetting both his want of strength and hands ;
 Which he disdainng, whisk'd his sword about,
 And with the wind thereof the king fell down.

254. *wind*] conj. Collier, Dyce ; *wound* Q.

244-254. *At which . . . fell down*] Vergil offers no suggestion for this lurid passage.

It has been transferred from Ovid's story, *Met.*, XIII. 558 f. of the vengeance wreaked by Hecuba, after the fall of Troy, upon Poly-mnestor, the murderer of her son Polydore. Golding's translation runs :

' Upon him speaking so,
 And swearing and forswearing too,
 shee looked sternely tho,
 And beeing sore inflaamd with
 wrath, caught hold upon him,
 and
 Streyght callyng out for succor too
 the wyves of *Troy* at hand,
 Did in the traytors face bestowe her
 nayles, and scratched out
 His eyes : her anger gave her hart
 and made her strong and stout.
 Shee thrust her fingers in as farre as
 could bee, and did bore
 Not now his eyes (for why his eyes
 were pulled out before),
 But bothe the places of his eyes
 berayd with wicked blood.'

254. *wind*] 'Here I have substituted *wind* for *wound* (as it stands in the old copy), in conformity probably with the author's meaning, and with the following corresponding lines in *Hamlet* (II. ii. 502 ff.) :

" Pyrrhus at Priam drives ; in rage
 strikes wide ;

But with the *whiff* and *wind* of his
 fell sword

The unnerved father falls."'

(Collier, *Hist. Engl. Dram. Poetry*, 1831, III. 226). The emendation was adopted by Dyce and all subsequent editors. McKerrow cites a parallel in Nashe's *Strange Newes* (I. 321, 30) : 'I feare-blast thee nowe but with the *winde* of my weapon.'

Bullen remarks that 'Shakespeare certainly glanced at this passage' when he wrote the lines in *Hamlet*, and that 'very slight heightening was required to give a burlesque turn to this speech of Aeneas' : with both which sentiments I agree. Ward (*Engl. Dram. Lit.*, 1899, I. 358, n. 2) dissents from Bullen's statement that Shakespeare burlesqued this passage, and suggests that he had another play in mind. Fleay (Introduction to his edition of *Edward II*) conjectures that the lines in *Hamlet* were originally written by Shakespeare to complete Marlowe's play ; and H. D. Gray ('Did Shakespeare write a Tragedy of "Dido"?' *Modern Language Review*, 1920, pp. 217-222) thinks they may be a remnant from a very early work of Shakespeare. In *Biog. Chron.*, II. 306 f., Fleay argues that the play Shakespeare parodied was the lost *Dido* and *Aeneas* mentioned in

Then from the navel to the throat at once 255
 He ripp'd old Priam; at whose latter gasp
 Jove's marble statue gan to bend the brow,
 As loathing Pyrrhus for this wicked act.
 Yet he, undaunted, took his father's flag,
 And dipp'd it in the old king's chill-cold blood, 260
 And then in triumph ran into the streets,
 Through which he could not pass for slaughter'd men;
 So, leaning on his sword, he stood stone still,
 Viewing the fire wherewith rich Ilion burnt.
 By this, I got my father on my back, — 265
 This young boy in mine arms, and by the hand
 Led fair Creusa, my beloved wife;
 When thou, Achates, with thy sword mad'st way,
 And we were round environ'd with the Greeks:
 O, there I lost my wife! and, had not we 270
 Fought manfully, I had not told this tale.

Henslowe's Diary, 1597/8, and is supported in this theory by C. W. Wallace ('The Swan Theatre and the Earl of Pembroke's Servants,' *Englische Studien*, 1910-1911, 378), who assumes Ben Jonson to have been the original author of the Pyrrhus lines in *Hamlet*.

255. *navel . . . throat*] Grosart remarks that this 'is a complete justification of "from the navel to the chaps" of *Macbeth*, I. ii. 22, at which critics have needlessly stumbled, having supposed that the wound was made when Macdonwald was alive and standing.' (The reading in *Macbeth* is 'from the Naue to th' Chops'.) Vergil's phrase is less violent, *Aen.*, II. 553: 'lateri capulo tenus abdidit ensem.'

259-260. *took . . . blood*] A mediaeval touch, not suggested by Vergil. Compare *Edward II* (2106-2107):

'If with the sight thereof she be not mooued,
 Returne it backe and dip it in my blood.'

Also *Julius Caesar*, III. i. 105-107 and particularly III. ii. 138-139:

'And they would go and kiss dead Caesar's wounds,
 And dip their napkins in his sacred blood.'

For a more modern example, based on mediaeval usage, cf. Scott, *The Lady of the Lake*, v. xvii.

265. *By this*] An awkward transition to the matter covered by *Aen.*, II. 707 ff. The episode in Vergil of Anchises' unwillingness to save himself, and of the omens which altered his purpose, is omitted.

266-267. *This . . . wife*] The grouping is different in Vergil, *Aen.*, II. 723-725:

'Dextrae se parvus Iulus
 Implicuit, sequiturque patrem non
 passibus aequis:
 Pone subit coniunx.'

268-269. *When . . . Greeks*] Not in Vergil, who has no fighting in this part of the story.

270. *O . . . wife*] Vergil, *Aen.*, II.

Yet manhood would not serve ; of force we fled ;
 And, as we went unto our ships, thou knowest
 We saw Cassandra sprawling in the streets,
 Whom Ajax ravish'd in Diana's fane, 275
 Her cheeks swollen with sighs, her hair all rent ;
 Whom I took up to bear unto our ships ;
 But suddenly the Grecians follow'd us,
 And I, alas, was forc'd to let her lie !
 Then got we to our ships, and, being aboard, 280
 Polyxena cried out, ' Æneas, stay !
 The Greeks pursue me ; stay, and take me in !'
 Mov'd with her voice, I leap'd into the sea,
 Thinking to bear her on my back aboard,
 For all our ships were launch'd into the deep, 285
 And, as I swam, she, standing on the shore,
 Was by the cruel Myrmidons surpris'd
 And after by that Pyrrhus sacrific'd. —
Dido. I die with melting ruth ; Æneas, leave.
Anna. O, what became of aged Hecuba ? 290
Iar. How got Æneas to the fleet again ?
Dido. But how scap'd Helen, she that caus'd this
 war ?
Æn. Achates, speak ; sorrow hath tir'd me quite.
Ach. What happen'd to the queen we cannot show ;

275. *fane*] Hurst ; *Fawne* Q.
 296. *swam*] *swomme* Q.

288. *by that*] Q ; *that by* Dyce. 286,

738-795, dwells much longer and more
 feelingly upon the loss of Creusa.

270-303. *and, had not we . . .
 thoughts*] This is freely invented,
 with only occasional indebtedness
 to Vergil.

272. *of force*] necessarily ; cf.
 below, v. i. 101.

274-275. *Cassandra . . . fane*]
 Cassandra's fate is touched upon in
Aen., II. 403 ff., but with only in-
 cidental mention of 'acerrimus
 Aiax' (l. 414). Compare Mar-
 lowe's Ovid, I. Elegy vii. 17-18,
 where, as in Vergil, it is Minerva's

temple, not *Diana's fane*. The
 latter is an error.

281. *Polyxena*] The sacrifice of
 Polyxena by Pyrrhus is not in
 Vergil, but is recorded by Ovid,
Met., XIII. 448 ff. Her capture by
 the Myrmidons (line 287) is pre-
 sumably, as Frey notes, original
 with the authors of the play.

288. *after by that*] The trans-
 position, 'after that by', suggested
 by Dyce in his first edition, was
 adopted in his second and in those
 of Grosart and Bullen. The Quarto
 gives a stronger sense.

We hear they led her captive into Greece : ✓ 295
 As for Æneas, he swam quickly back ; ✓
 And Helena betray'd Deiphobus,
 Her lover, after Alexander died,
 And so was reconcil'd to Menelaus.

Dido. O, had that ticing strumpet ne'er been born !— 300
 Trojan, thy ruthful tale hath made me sad :
 Come, let us think upon some pleasing sport,
 To rid me from these melancholy thoughts.

[*Exeunt all except Ascanius, whom Venus, entering with Cupid at another door, takes by the sleeve as he is going off.*

Ven. Fair child, stay thou with Dido's waiting maid :
 I'll give thee sugar-almonds, sweet conserves, 305
 A silver girdle, and a golden purse,
 And this young prince shall be thy playfellow.

Asc. Are you Queen Dido's son ?

Cup. Ay ; and my mother gave me this fine bow.

Asc. Shall I have such a quiver and a bow ? 310

303. S. D. *Exeunt . . . off*] Dyce ; *Exeunt omnes. Enter Venus at another doore, and takes Ascanius by the sleeue Q.*

297. *Helena betray'd Deiphobus*] The story is told, as McKerrow notes, in *Aen.*, vi. 494-534.

298. *Alexander*] The name of Paris in the *Iliad*, but not in Vergil. Cf. *Dr. Faustus* (637-638) :

'Haue not I made blinde Homer
 sing to me
 Of Alexanders loue, and Enons
 death ?'

299. *Menelaus*] Feminine endings so rare in this play that it is probable that the author pronounced this name in three syllables. Compare *Dr. Faustus* (1337) : 'And I will combat with weake Menelaus,' on which line Ward comments, 'I doubt whether Marlowe did not write "Menelas"'. Cf. Greene, ed. Collins, *Orlando Furioso*, i. i. 168, 227 ('That when Prince Menelaus with all his

mates') and note. So in Marlowe's Ovid, ii. vi. 41, *Protesilaus* is four syllables : 'Thersites did *Protesilaus* suruiue.'

303. S. D. *at another door*] At a different door from that by which the previous speakers have just gone out. Compare G. F. Reynolds, 'Two Conventions of the Elizabethan Stage,' *Modern Philology*, May, 1919.

304-339. *Fair child . . . again*] As in Vergil the exchange of Cupid for Ascanius has been already made (see note on lines 39 ff.) there is nothing corresponding to this scene, which is, however, all suggested by *Aen.*, i. 657-696' (McKerrow).

305-307. *I'll give thee . . . playfellow*] About these pretty lines there is a suggestion of the song of the Passionate Shepherd :

Ven. Such bow, such quiver, and such golden shafts,
 Will Dido give to sweet Ascanius.
 For Dido's sake I take thee in my arms,
 And stick these spangled feathers in thy hat :
 Eat comfits in mine arms, and I will sing. [*Sings.* 315
 Now is he fast asleep ; and in this grove,
 Amongst green brakes, I'll lay Ascanius,
 And strew him with sweet-smelling violets,
 Blushing roses, purple hyacinth :
 These milk-white doves shall be his centronels, 320
 Who, if that any seek to do him hurt,
 Will quickly fly to Cytherea's fist.
 Now, Cupid, turn thee to Ascanius' shape,
 And go to Dido, who, instead of him,
 Will set thee on her lap, and play with thee : 325
 Then touch her white breast with this arrow head,
 That she may dote upon Æneas' love,
 And by that means repair his broken ships,

315. S. D. add. Dyce. 319. *Hyacinthe*] Q ; *hyacinths* Dyce. 322.
Cytherea's] Hurst ; *Cithæidas* Q.

' And I will make thee beds of
 Roses,
 And a thousand fragrant poesies,
 A cap of flowers, and a kirtle,
 Imbroydred all with leaues of
 Mirtle,' etc.

315. *I will sing*] As in so many cases, the song by which Ascanius was lulled to sleep has been lost. Dyce suggests, 'Here, most probably, the boy who acted Venus was to sing any song that he happened to know.'

316. *in this grove*] 'After the song the scene is supposed to be changed to a grove' (Dyce). The grove was doubtless represented by the same exiguous scenery as the *bush* in i. i. 139.

319. *Blushing . . . hyacinth*] A nine-syllable line. Cunningham adopts Mitford's conjecture, 'With blushing roses', and follows Dyce in reading *hyacinths*.

320. *These . . . centronels*] For

Venus's doves Knutowski refers to Ovid, *Met.*, xiv. 597 : 'Perque leves auras iunctis invecta columbis,' but they are, of course, a commonplace of mythology. For the part they take in the action of the play see iii. ii. 21. Chapman introduces them very elaborately into the action of *Hero and Leander*, iv. 226 ff. For other instances of *centronels*, with slightly different spelling, Dyce cites Barnes's *Devil's Charter* and Bullen, *The Trial of Chivalry*. O.E.D. quotes *centrinels* from B. Yong's translation of Montemayor's *Diana* (1598).

Hurst and Robinson modernize : 'sentinels'.

322. *Cytherea's*] This obvious emendation is adopted by all editors. For the confusion of *e* and *d* see note on line 72 above. In some of the forms of the Elizabethan handwriting *r* could also be easily mistaken for *i*.

Victual his soldiers, give him wealthy gifts,
 And he at last depart to Italy, 330
 Or else in Carthage make his kingly throne.

Cup. I will, fair mother ; and so play my part
 As every touch shall wound Queen Dido's heart.

[*Exit.*

Ven. Sleep, my sweet nephew, in these cooling shades,
 Free from the murmur of these running streams, 335
 The cry of beasts, the rattling of the winds,
 Or whisking of these leaves : all shall be still,
 And nothing interrupt thy quiet sleep,
 Till I return, and take thee hence again. [*Exit.*

333. S. D. add. Dyce.

334. *nephew*] grandchild, as commonly in Elizabethan English ; cf. *Othello*, I. i. 112.

335. *these running streams*] Of *these* McKerrow says, ' Perhaps caught from the preceding line ; we should rather expect *the*.' *These* cooling shades, *these* running

streams, *these* leaves (line 337) seem to be a conscious effort to assist the meagre scenery in visualizing Venus' idyllic retreat. Compare scene ii of the next act (line 88) :

' Into *these* woods, adjoining to *these* walls.'

ACT III

SCENE I

Enter CUPID solus (as ASCANIUS).

Cup. Now, Cupid, cause the Carthaginian queen
To be enamour'd of thy brother's looks ;
Convey this golden arrow in thy sleeve,
Lest she imagine thou art Venus' son ;
And when she strokes thee softly on the head, 5
Then shall I touch her breast and conquer her.

Enter DIDO, ANNA, and IARBAS.

Iar. How long, fair Dido, shall I pine for thee ?
'Tis not enough that thou dost grant me love,
But that I may enjoy what I desire :
That love is childish which consists in words. 10
Dido. Iarbas, know, that thou, of all my wooers,—
And yet have I had many mightier kings,—
Hast had the greatest favours I could give.

Act III.

solus] Q; *as Ascanius* Dyce. 6. S. D. *Enter Iarbus, Anna, and Dido* Q.

Scene 1] There is practically no Vergilian influence in this scene, except in the first six lines.

5-6. *And . . . her*] *Aen.*, i. 685-688 :

' Ut cum te gremio accipiet laetissima Dido . . .

Cum dabit amplexus atque oscula dulcia figet,

Occultum inspires ignem fallasque veneno.'

6. *Then shall I*] Note the change from the second to the first person, as often in monologues.

6. S. D. *Iarbas*] This name, which

here appears in unabbreviated form for the first time in the text of the Quarto, is erroneously spelled *Iarbus*, and so invariably through the rest of the play. In the list of 'Actors', however, printed on the Quarto title-page, it is given correctly as *Iarbas*. 'The wish of Iarbas, King of Mauritania, for the hand of Dido is merely mentioned in passing in *Aen.*, iv. 36 [also iv. 196-218] and Ovid, *Heroid.*, vii. 125. The important role which he here plays is the chief divergence from the Vergilian story' (McKerrow).

12. *And yet . . . kings*] Com-

I fear me, Dido hath been counted light
 In being too familiar with Iarbas ; 15
 Albeit the gods do know, no wanton thought
 Had ever residence in Dido's breast.

Iar. But Dido is the favour I request.

Dido. Fear not, Iarbas ; Dido may be thine.

Anna. Look, sister, how Æneas' little son 20
 Plays with your garments and embraceth you.

Cup. No, Dido will not take me in her arms ;
 I shall not be her son, she loves me not.

Dido. Weep not, sweet boy ; thou shalt be Dido's son : 24
 Sit in my lap, and let me hear thee sing.

[*Cupid sings.*

No more, my child ; now talk another while,
 And tell me where learn'dst thou this pretty song.

Cup. My cousin Helen taught it me in Troy.

Dido. How lovely is Ascanius when he smiles !

Cup. Will Dido let me hang about her neck ? 30

Dido. Ay, wag ; and give thee leave to kiss her too.

Cup. What will you give me now ? I'll have this fan.

Dido. Take it, Ascanius, for thy father's sake.

Iar. Come, Dido, leave Ascanius ; let us walk.

Dido. Go thou away ; Ascanius shall stay. 35

Iar. Ungentle queen, is this thy love to me ?

Dido. O stay, Iarbas, and I'll go with thee !

Cup. And if my mother go, I'll follow her.

Dido. Why stay'st thou here ? thou art no love of mine.

Iar. Iarbas, die, seeing she abandons thee ! 40

Dido. No ; live, Iarbas : what hast thou deserv'd,
 That I should say thou art no love of mine ?

25. S. D. add. Hurst.
 Dyce ; *me ? now* Q.

27. *learn'dst*] Dyce ; *learnst* Q.
 38. *And*] Q ; *An* Dyce (2nd ed.).

32. *me now ?*

pare the elaboration of this idea
 below, 138-167.

26. *another while*] Compare *Edward II* (2459), 'Let us assaile his
 minde *another while* ' ; 2 *Henry VI*,

iv. x. 9, 'pick a sallet *another while*.'

32. *fan*] Compare above, i. i. 35.

36. *is this thy love to me*] The
 same words occur in iv. iv. 16 ; also
 in *The Massacre at Paris* (1248) :

Something thou hast deserv'd.—Away, I say !
Depart from Carthage ; come not in my sight.

Iar. Am I not king of rich Gætulia ? 45

Dido. Iarbas, pardon me, and stay a while.

Cup. Mother, look here.

Dido. What tell'st thou me of rich Gætulia ?

Am not I queen of Libya ? then depart.

Iar. I go to feed the humour of my love, 50

Yet not from Carthage for a thousand worlds.

Dido. Iarbas !

Iar. Doth Dido call me back ?

Dido. No ; but I charge thee never look on me.

Iar. Then pull out both mine eyes, or let me die. [*Exit.*

Anna. Wherefore doth Dido bid Iarbas go ? 55

Dido. Because his loathsome sight offends mine eye,

And in my thoughts is shrin'd another love.

O Anna, didst thou know how sweet love were,

Full soon wouldst thou abjure this single life !

Anna. Poor soul, I know too well the sour of love : 60

O, that Iarbas could but fancy me ! [*Aside.*

Dido. Is not Æneas fair and beautiful ?

Anna. Yes, and Iarbas foul and favourless.

Dido. Is he not eloquent in all his speech ?

Anna. Yes ; and Iarbas rude and rustical. 65

Dido. Name not Iarbas : but, sweet Anna, say,

57. *love*] Dyce ; *Ioue* Q ; *Jove* Hurst. 60. *sour*] *sower* Q ; *power* Hurst.
61. S. D. add. Dyce.

' Ah *Epernoune*, is this thy loue to me ? '

45. *rich Gaetulia*] In *Aen.*, iv. 326 Vergil speaks of ' Gaetulus Iarbas ', and in iv. 40 he mentions ' Gaetulae urbes ' just after his first reference to Iarbas ; but in iv. 206 Iarbas is made king of Mauritania (' Maurusia . . . gens ').

52. *Iarbas . . . back*] The two speeches form one metrical line, the pause counting as a syllable : ' Iar|bas. (x) | Doth Di|do call | me back ? '

56. *eye*] Cunningham's text has *eyes*, which is probably a misprint.

57. *love*] The Quarto reading in the three copies I have examined is clearly *Ioue* (*Jove*), but Dyce seems to have read it *loue*, since he does not record his variation from the Quarto. Hurst, Robinson, and Grosart retain *Jove*, which can hardly be right.

60. *Poor soul . . . love*] McKerron notes that Vergil knows nothing of Anna's love for Iarbas.

Is not Æneas worthy Dido's love ?

Anna. O sister, were you empress of the world,

Æneas well deserves to be your love !

So lovely is he, that, where'er he goes, 70

The people swarm to gaze him in the face.

Dido. But tell them, none shall gaze on him but I,

Lest their gross eye-beams taint my lover's cheeks.

Anna, good sister Anna, go for him,

Lest with these sweet thoughts I melt clean away. 75

Anna. Then, sister, you'll abjure Iarbas' love ?

Dido. Yet must I hear that loathsome name again ?

Run for Æneas, or I'll fly to him. [*Exit Anna.*]

Cup. You shall not hurt my father when he comes.

Dido. No ; for thy sake I'll love thy father well.— 80

O dull-conceited Dido, that till now

Didst never think Æneas beautiful !

But now, for quittance of this oversight,

I'll make me bracelets of his golden hair ;

His glistening eyes shall be my looking-glass ; 85

His lips an altar, where I'll offer up

As many kisses as the sea hath sands :

Instead of music I will hear him speak ;

His looks shall be my only library ;

And thou, Æneas, Dido's treasury, 90

In whose fair bosom I will lock more wealth

71. *gaze him in the face*] The idiom survives in 'look him in the face'.

85. *glistening*] The most familiar instance of the word is in the line of *The Merchant of Venice*, II. vii. 65 : 'All that glisters is not gold.' Marlowe uses *glittering* below, III. iii. 4, and again in *Edward II* (2046) :

'That I may gaze vpon this glittering crowne.'

Glisters occurs twice in the translations : Ovid, Bk. III. Elegy xi. l. 38 ; Lucan, I. 664 ; and *glistered*

twice in the first Sestiad of *Hero and Leander*, ll. 98, 390.

86. *altar . . . offer up*] Bullen compares *Jew of Malta*, III. (1213 f.) :

'Vpon which Altar I will offer vp
My daily sacrifice of sighes and
teares.'

90. *Dido's treasury*] Knutowski compares *Edward II* (628 f.) :

'nor let me haue more wealth
Then I may fetch from this ritche
treasurie :
O how a kisse reuiues poore
Isabell !'

Than twenty thousand Indias can afford.
 O, here he comes! Love, love, give Dido leave
 To be more modest than her thoughts admit,
 Lest I be made a wonder to the world. 95

*Enter ÆNEAS, ACHATES, SERGESTUS, ILIONEUS, and
 CLOANTHUS.*

Achates, how doth Carthage please your lord?

Ach. That will Æneas show your majesty.

Dido. Æneas, art thou there?

Æn. I understand, your highness sent for me.

Dido. No; but, now thou art here, tell me, in sooth, 100
 In what might Dido highly pleasure thee.

Æn. So much have I receiv'd at Dido's hands,
 As, without blushing, I can ask no more:
 Yet, queen of Afric, are my ships unrigg'd,
 My sails all rent in sunder with the wind, 105
 My oars broken, and my tackling lost,
 Yea, all my navy split with rocks and shelves;
 Nor stern nor anchor have our maimed fleet;
 Our masts the furious winds strook overboard:

95. S. D. add. Hurst. 107. *shelves*] *Shelves* Q. 109. *strooke*] Q;
struck Hurst.

In 125, below, the phrase is used in its literal sense.

95. S. D. *Enter Aeneas, etc.*] Grosart, followed by McKerrow, phrases the stage direction, 'Enter Achates, Sergestus, Ilioneus, Cloanthus, and Aeneas last,' and explains: 'Aeneas must enter last. See Dido's address to Achates, not seeing, or affecting not to see Aeneas, as shown by her question.' There is no reason why Aeneas should enter last. Better stage business results if Dido, making as if to address him, is overcome by embarrassment, and turns to Achates with her apparently banal inquiry. The answer of Achates implies surprise, as well as the first speech of Aeneas. Of course, Dido's question in line 98 does not

prove her previous ignorance of Aeneas' presence.

107. *shelves*] sandbanks. Compare 3 *Henry VI*, v. iv. 23 (a line not in the *True Tragedy* version): 'From shelves and rocks that threaten us with wrack.'

Also *The Rape of Lucrece*, line 335. Nashe has the word in *Lenten Stufte* (ed. McKerrow, III. 161, 16). McKerrow notes that the *Dido* Quarto has the spelling *shelves* here and in iv. iv. 58, but *shelues* in i. i. 147. Elizabethan usage was much less established than that of the present day, which, for words like *hoof*, *scarf*, *turf*, cannot yet be said to be uniform (cf. Fowler, *Modern English Usage*, pp. 687-688).

108. *stern*] This word, in the

Which piteous wants if Dido will supply, 110
We will account her author of our lives.

Dido. Æneas, I'll repair thy Trojan ships,
Conditionally that thou wilt stay with me,
And let Achates sail to Italy :
I'll give thee tackling made of rivell'd gold, 115
Wound on the barks of odoriferous trees ;
Oars of massy ivory, full of holes,
Through which the water shall delight to play ;
Thy anchors shall be hew'd from crystal rocks,
Which, if thou lose, shall shine above the waves ; 120
The masts, whereon thy swelling sails shall hang,
Hollow pyramides of silver plate ;
The sails of folded lawn, where shall be wrought
The wars of Troy,—but not Troy's overthrow.

120. *lose*] Q; *loose* Cunningham.

sense of rudder, occurs again in v. i. 61, and twice in Nashe's works.

115. *I'll . . . rivell'd gold*] 'Rivell'd' occurs again in Marlowe's translation of Ovid, Bk. 1. Elegy viii. 112 :

'But her bleare eyes . . .
And riueled cheekes I would haue
puld a pieces';

and three times in Nashe's works. It is used of wrinkled faces in Marston, *Antonio's Revenge*, 1. ii. ('wrinkled front . . . rivelled with abortive care') and Heywood, 2 *Edward IV*, 1. vi. ('disturbed looks and rivell'd front'). Cunningham quotes the description of London ladies in Stubbes, 'some are pleated and ryueled down the back wonderfully with more knacks than I can declare.' Professor Brereton paraphrases the present passage: 'Dido promises Æneas tackling made of bark with gold foil so wrapped about and impressed upon it as to show the pleats.' Grosart adds a stage direction, 'To Achates,' opposite this line, justifying it by line 127 below.

115-126. *I'll . . . here*] Bullen quotes Symonds' criticism: 'The blank verse, falling in couplets, seems to cry aloud for rhyme.'

119-120. *crystal rocks . . . shall shine*] Cf. below, v. i. 6 and note; *Hero and Leander*, 1. 141: 'Of Christall shining faire the pauement was.' Marlowe was markedly fond of the word *crystal*, which occurs in two other lines of this play (1. i. 75, v. i. 6). The two parts of *Tamburlaine* have eight examples, applied mainly to air and water.

120. *lose*] 'All previous editions read *lose*, and I have ventured to substitute *loose* as a word naturally connected with anchors, and as conveying a more poetical image than the other. Dido is drawing a picture of Æneas' ships, and, in describing the crystal anchors, says that even when you have *loosed* them they will still contribute to the beauty of the scene by shining above the waves. . . .' (Cunningham).

122. *Hollow pyramides*] 'Marlowe has here anticipated the hollow metal masts of the nineteenth century' (Cunningham). Collier

For ballace, empty Dido's treasury : 125

Take what ye will, but leave Æneas here.

Achates, thou shalt be so meanly clad,

As sea-born nymphs shall swarm about thy ships,

And wanton mermaids court thee with sweet songs,

Flinging in favours of more sovereign worth 130

Than Thetis hangs about Apollo's neck,

So that Æneas may but stay with me.

Æn. Wherefore would Dido have Æneas stay ?

Dido. To war against my bordering enemies.

125. *ballace*] Q; *ballast* Hurst. 127. *meanly*] Q; *seemly* Dyce; *meetly* conj. Dyce; *newly* conj. Collier, Cunningham.

states incorrectly (*Hist. Engl. Dram. Poetry*, 1831, iii. 228) that the Quarto reads *Pyramids*. Marlowe refers to *pyramides* (always pronounced in four syllables) in 1 *Tamburlaine*, iv. ii. (1547), *Dr. Faustus* (844), and *Massacre at Paris* (100). This form was sometimes employed in the singular as well as plural, and implied nearly always in Elizabethan poetry an obelisk or thin spire. Compare Spenser, *Ruins of Time*, 408; *Ruins of Rome*, 18; *Lochrine*, iii. v. 32; *The London Prodigal*, iii. iii. 212; *Antony and Cleopatra*, v. ii. 61; Dekker, *The Dead Term* (ed. Grosart, iv. 23); Heywood, *Apology for Actors* (Sh. Soc. ed., p. 47); Greene, *Mamillia* (ed. Grosart, ii. 270); and H. C. Hart, 1 *Henry VI*, Arden edition, pp. xv and 44.

123. *folded lawn*] Lawn, I suppose, of many thicknesses.

127. *meanly*] This word has been enormously argued over, without satisfactory result. Mitford's proposal to make the line read, 'Mean-time, Achates, thou shalt be so clad,' is negligible. Instead of *meanly*, Dyce first suggested *meetly*, and later adopted *seemly*, in which Bullen followed him (though of the two guesses *meetly* seems the more plausible). Collier's improbable *newly* is accepted by Cunningham, 'as conveying a better idea of

bravery'. Professor Brereton ingeniously suggests *manly*, which is certainly the most tempting word if the Quarto reading must be abandoned. Grosart (*Glossarial Index*) defends the original *meanly* in a long note: '... in my judgment the word is used in a semi-boastful way, as putting it by contrast as though to one so rich and mighty the most lavish gifts were nothing to speak of. We often thus use words by way of depreciation or deprecation of our gifts.... By this law of contraries *meanly* means ... "richly" dressed, though lightly made of by the giver.' McKerrow, printing *meanly*, says: 'I have allowed this reading to stand simply because none of the emendations proposed seems at all satisfactory.' Dr. Brinsley Nicholson's explanation (given by Grosart) that *meanly* is equivalent to '*evenly* (with the before-mentioned treasures)' is far-fetched. The only interpretation that seems to me reasonably intelligible is to take *meanly* as 'normally': 'even your ordinary dress shall be such that sea-born nymphs,' etc.

130-131. *Flinging . . . neck*] Cf. 2 *Tamburlaine*, i. vi. (2737 f.):

'The Sun vnable to sustaine the sight,
Shall hide his head in *Thetis*
watery lap;'

Æneas, think not Dido is in love ; 135

For, if that any man could conquer me,

I had been wedded ere Æneas came :

See where the pictures of my suitors hang ;

And are not these as fair as fair may be ?

Ach. I saw this man at Troy, ere Troy was sack'd. 140

Æn. I this in Greece, when Paris stole fair Helen.

Ili. This man and I were at Olympia's games.

Serg. I know this face ; he is a Persian born :

I travell'd with him to Ætolia.

Cloan. And I in Athens with this gentleman, 145

Unless I be deceiv'd, disputed once.

Dido. But speak, Æneas ; know you none of these ?

Æn. No, madam ; but it seems that these are kings.

Dido. All these, and others which I never saw,

Have been most urgent suitors for my love ; 150

Some came in person, others sent their legates,

Yet none obtain'd me : I am free from all ;

And yet, God knows, entangled unto one.

This was an orator, and thought by words

141. Assigned to *Sergestus* Dyce ; *A Lord* Grosart. 142. *Olympia's* Dyce ; *Olympus* Q.

Hero and Leander, II. 202 f. :

'th' enamoured sunne,
That now should shine on *Thetis*
glassie bower.'

The idea is that the setting sun is embraced by *Thetis* as he sinks into the sea.

138. *my suitors*] *Dido's* scornful treatment of her suitors is briefly alluded to by *Vergil*, *Aen.*, IV. 534-536 :

'rursusne procos inrisa priores
Experiar, Nomadumque petam
conubia supplex,
Quos ego sim totiens iam dedignata
maritos ?'

141. *Aen.*] Dyce, in his second edition, gave this line to *Sergestus* on the ground that the ascription to

Aeneas 'is proved to be wrong by the next speech of *Dido*' (line 147). *Grosart* gives the speaker as '*A Lord*'. *Bullen's* explanation is, I think, convincing : 'We may suppose that *Dido* is there (147) calling *Aeneas*' attention to another set of pictures on the opposite side of the stage.' Note the reply of *Aeneas*, 148, 'it seems that *these* are kings.' The men discussed in lines 140-146 do not seem to be kings, and there is no reason for singling out *Aeneas* as the only member of the company unacquainted with any of *Dido's* distinguished suitors.

142. *Olympia's games*] This is, of course, what the author meant, but it is very possible that he wrote *Olympus*.

146. *disputed*] An academic allu-

To compass me ; but yet he was deceiv'd : 155
 And this a Spartan courtier, vain and wild :
 But his fantastic humours pleas'd not me :
 This was Alcion, a musician ;
 But, play'd he ne'er so sweet, I let him go :
 This was the wealthy king of Thessaly ; 160
 But I had gold enough, and cast him off :
 This, Meleager's son, a warlike prince ;
 But weapons gree not with my tender years :
 The rest are such as all the world well knows :

163. *gree*] Q; *greed* Grosart.

sion, referring to the Athenian schools of philosophy, thought of as another Cambridge. No such schools existed at Athens in the time of Aeneas, but the authors of the play have simply extended Vergil's anachronism in synchronizing the fall of Troy (1184 B.C. ?) and Dido's foundation of Carthage (853 B.C. ?). Compare *Dr. Faustus* (36 f.) :

'Is to dispute well Logicke's chiefest end,
 Affords this Art no greater miracle ?'

156. *a Spartan courtier, vain and wild*] In the light of later Spartan civilization this description might seem contradictory ; but the poet is thinking of the court of Menelaus and Helen as a kind of Greek Florence. Compare Sidney's *Arcadia* (ed. 1590, Bk. i., ch. vi., etc.) which represents the Lacedaemonians as a race of refined aristocrats, warring against the rude Helots of Laconia.

158. *Alcion, a musician*] 'I cannot learn whence the author took this name, unless it is due to a mistaken recollection of C. Agrippa, *De Incert. et Van.*, cap. 17, trans. 1569, fol. 29-29', "In Homer a Harpar plaieth, and *Alciones*, and *Vlisses* geue eare." This "*Alciones*" seems to be in turn an error for "*Alcinous*"; cf. *Od.*, viii. 62, &c.' (McKerrow). Marlowe has *Alcinous* correctly in his

translation of Ovid, Bk. i., Elegy x. 56 : 'May bounteous loue *Alcinous* fruite resigne'; but that proves nothing. There is no reason why the name *Alcion* should not have been invented by the poet, possibly in reminiscence of the musician *Arion* mentioned in v. i. 248. Spenser uses *Alcyon* as a mythological name for Sir Arthur Gorges in *Daphnida* and again in *Colin Clout's Come Home Again*.

162. *Meleager's son*] The Meleager of the well known myth is not reported to have had a son. His chase of the Calydonian boar is correctly alluded to in *Tamburlaine*, iv. iii. 1-3 (1571 ff.).

163. *gree*] 'Agree,' as frequently in Shakespeare. Grosart's emendation is tempting, but it is not certain that the poet wishes to represent her as past her *tender years*.

165. *now*] This is the emendation of the most careful editors, Dyce and McKerrow, as well as of Bullen and Grosart. It is not easy to decide between it and *here*, which Hurst, Robinson, and Cunningham read, to replace the objectionable *how* of the Quarto (in which the first letter is most undoubtedly an 'h'). *How* can better be explained as a direct misreading of 'here' in the author's manuscript than of 'now', for *h* in Tudor chirography was a very conspicuous letter ; but if the printer, after reading the line once to himself, proceeded to set it from memory, it is easy to con-
 ject-

Yet now I swear, by heaven and him I love, 165

I was as far from love as they from hate.

Æn. O, happy shall he be whom Dido loves !

Dido. Then never say that thou art miserable,

Because, it may be, thou shalt be my love :

Yet boast not of it, for I love thee not,— 170

And yet I hate thee not.—O, if I speak,

I shall betray myself ! [*Aside*].—*Æneas*, speak :

We two will go a-hunting in the woods ;

But not so much for thee,—thou art but one,—

As for *Achates* and his followers. [*Exeunt.* 175

SCENE II

Enter JUNO to ASCANIUS, asleep.

Juno. Here lies my hate, *Æneas*' cursed brat,

The boy wherein false *Destiny* delights,

The heir of *Fame*, the favourite of the *Fates*,

165. *now*] Dyce; *how* Q; *here* Hurst. 172. *Aside*] add. Dyce. *speake*] Q; *come* Dyce; *hark* conj. Dyce. 173. *We two*] Q; *We too* Bullen.

Scene II.

3. *Fame*] cf. note; *furie* Q; *furies* Grosart; *Troy* Cunningham. *Fates*] Hurst; *face* Q.

ture that the *h*'s following, in *heaven* and *him* caused him inadvertently to substitute *how* for *now*.

168. *miserable*] For the pronunciation see note on II. i. 104.

172. *speake*] It is obvious that this may be a printer's error, occasioned by the appearance of the word at the end of the preceding line; but the Quarto reading is not absurd. *Dido* begins by invoking *Aeneas*; then in line 174 suddenly changes her tactics and pretends that the outing is to be rather for the entertainment of his companions—which removes the necessity of a reply. *McKerrow* proposes to give the word *speake* to *Aeneas*, assuming that the speaker's name has been absorbed in the preceding *Aeneas*; thus :

' *Dido.* *Aeneas* !

Æn. *Speak* !

Dido. *We two,*' etc.

173. *We two*] The reading, *We too*, in the Oxford Marlowe, is an error.

Scene II.

2. *Destiny*] Marlowe is fond of this name for the embodiment of human fate. See below, IV. iii. 2, v. 323; and *1 Tamburlaine*, v. ii. (1908-9) :

' my customes are as peremp-
tory
As wrathfull Planets, death or
destinie ';

ibid. (2014 f.) :

' countermands the Gods,
More than Cymerian *Stix* or
Destinie ';

That ugly imp that shall outwear my wrath,
 And wrong my deity with high disgrace. 5
 But I will take another order now,
 And race th' eternal register of Time :
 Troy shall no more call him her second hope,
 Nor Venus triumph in his tender youth ;
 For here, in spite of heaven, I'll murder him, 10
 And feed infection with his let-out life.
 Say, Paris, now shall Venus have the ball ?
 Say, vengeance, now shall her Ascanius die ?
 O, no ! God wot, I cannot watch my time,
 Nor quit good turns with double fee down told ! 15
 Tut, I am simple, without mind to hurt,
 And have no gall at all to grieve my foes !

7. *race*] Q; *raze* Hurst. 11. *let-out*] Hurst; *left out* Q. 16. *without mind*] Dyce; *without made* Q; *without might* Hurst; *with ought made* conj. McKerrow.

Ovid, Bk. i., Elegy iii. 17 :

'The yeares that fatall destinie shall giue.'

In *Hero and Leander*, I. 377, 444, 462, he uses the word *Destinies* to designate the three Fates of ancient fable. Compare also, for the plural form, *Dido*, II. i. 59, IV. iv. 57, 81.

3. *The heir of Fame*] This, according to Broughton's MS. notes, was the manuscript correction in one copy of the Quarto (cf. *Introduction*, p. 120): it gives a good sense and makes the line scan. The copies now extant seem all to read, *The heire of furie*; but 'fame' and 'furie' might be very much alike in an Elizabethan hand that made its *a*'s and *r*'s carelessly. Cunningham says in defence of his emendation: 'The speech is Juno's, and her only reason for hating Ascanius was his being the heir of Troy.' Professor Brereton suggests *The heir of fancy*.

Fates] All editors make this correction of the Quarto *face*. Deighton would alter the line to read *Heir of the Furies, favourite of the Fates*.

7. *race*] Frequent in Shakespeare and other Elizabethan writers in both the senses, *raze* and *erase*.

8. *second hope*] 'altera spes.'

11. *feed infection with his let-out life*] Hurst's emendation has been universally adopted. The meaning of the line is, I think, 'And let his lifeless body infect the air.' The reciprocal idea is found in 2 *Tamburlaine*, II. iii. (3011-3013):

'this fraile and transitory flesh
 Hath suckt the measure of that
 vitall aire
 That feeds the body with his dated
 health.'

Marlowe was notably fond of these rather strained and metaphorical uses of the word 'feed'. Compare 1 *Tamburlaine*, III. ii. 13 (998):

'Yet since a farther passion feeds
 my thoughts,'

and the famous lines,

'If all the pens that euer poets
 held,
 Had fed the feeling of their
 maisters thoughts.'

16. *without . . . hurt*] McKerrow (*Nashe*, vol. iv. 298) withdrew his conjecture, but it deserves to stand for its ingenious closeness to the Quarto reading.

But lustful Jove and his adulterous child
 Shall find it written on confusion's front,
 That only Juno rules in Rhamnus town. 20

Enter VENUS.

Ven. What should this mean? my doves are back
 return'd,
 Who warn me of such danger prest at hand
 To harm my sweet Ascanius' lovely life.—
 Juno, my mortal foe, what make you here?
 Avaunt, old witch! and trouble not my wits. 25

Juno. Fie, Venus, that such causeless words of wrath
 Should e'er defile so fair a mouth as thine!
 Are not we both sprung of celestial race,
 And banquet, as two sisters, with the gods?
 Why is it, then, displeasure should disjoin 30
 Whom kindred and acquaintance co-unites?

Ven. Out, hateful hag! thou wouldst have slain my son,
 Had not my doves discover'd thy intent:
 But I will tear thy eyes fro forth thy head,
 And feast the birds with their blood-shotten balls, 35

22. *such*] *Q*; *some* conj. Cunningham. 28. *race*] *rased* *Q*. 34. *fro*]
Q; *from* Hurst.

20. *That . . . Rhamnus town*] 'I.e. that Juno only is the goddess of vengeance, Nemesis' (Dyce). Rhamnus was the township in northern Attica, famous for its temple of Nemesis, hence called *Rhamnusia*. Compare 2 *Tamburlaine*, III. iv. 57 (3468):

'*Rhamnusia* beares a helmet ful of blood.'

In 1 *Tamburlaine*, Marlowe refers to her again (II. iii. 37) (635):

'When she that rules in *Rhamnis* golden gates.'

(For further parallels cf. F. G. Hubbard, Univ. of Wisconsin *Shakespeare Studies*, 1916, p. 33.) Ovid mentions Rhamnusia in *Met.*, III. 406, XIV. 694; *Tristia*, v. viii. 9.

25. *witch . . . wits*] Compare the similar jingle in 1 *Tamburlaine*, I. i. 22: 'That knowe my wit, and can be witnesses.' Also above, I. i. 86, 100. Such effects, cacophonous to us, seem to have been pleasing to most of the Elizabethans.

32. *son*] I.e. grandson. In line 40 *son* is used properly of Aeneas.

34. *fro forth*] More euphonious than 'from forth', which appears three times below (III. iii. 31, iv. 52; iv. iii. 31). In the Ovid translation, Bk. II. xviii. 17, *fro* it is used to rhyme with *Poet*. Otherwise Marlowe employs *fro* only in the phrase 'to and fro'.

35. *blood-shotten*] Occurs nowhere else in Marlowe.

If thou but lay thy fingers on my boy.

Juno. Is this, then, all the thanks that I shall have
 For saving him from snakes' and serpents' stings,
 That would have kill'd him, sleeping as he lay?
 What though I was offended with thy son, 40
 And wrought him mickle woe on sea and land,
 When, for the hate of Trojan Ganymede,
 That was advanced by my Hebe's shame,
 And Paris' judgment of the heavenly ball,
 I muster'd all the winds unto his wrack, 45
 And urg'd each element to his annoy?
 Yet now I do repent me of his ruth,
 And wish that I had never wrong'd him so.
 Bootless, I saw, it was to war with fate
 That hath so many unresisted friends: 50
 Wherefore I chang'd my counsel with the time,
 And planted love where envy erst had sprung.
Ven. Sister of Jove, if that thy love be such

45. *wrache*] Q; *wreck* Hurst.

51. *chang'd*] Dyce; *chaunge* Q.

42-44. *When . . . ball*] A Vergilian reminiscence; cf. *Aen.*, i. 26-28:

'manet alta mente repostum
 Iudicium Paridis spretaeque iniuria
 formae,
 Et genus invisum, et rapti Gany-
 medis honores.'

43. *my Hebe's shame*] Hebe, daughter of Jupiter and Juno, had been superseded by Ganymede in her office of pouring nectar for the gods. Compare the note on i. i. 1-49, above, which are a dramatic expansion of this line.

46. *annoy*] See above, i. i. 153. It occurs as a noun also in *1 Com-tention* and the closing couplet of *The True Tragedy* (3 *Henry VI*, v. vii. 45) but not elsewhere in Marlowe.

47. *ruth*] Generally used by Marlowe in the proper sense of pity, the only sense known to Shakespeare. Compare *Dido*, ii. i. 40, 289, iv. ii.

20; *Jew of Malta*, II. (834); *1 Tamburlaine*, v. i. 59 (1840), v. ii. (2051) (2151); *2 Tamburlaine*, v. i. 24 (4136). Here, however, it means rather that which occasions pity, i.e. suffering or misery. Such is the sense also below, iv. ii. 39. Cf. *1 Tamburlaine*, v. ii. 22 (1866), 'teares of ruth and blood'; (2124), 'tales of bleeding ruth'; *Massacre at Paris* (803),

'How many noble men haue lost
 their liues . . .

Is ruth and almost death to call to
 mind.'

The confusion of meanings doubtless arose through the adjective, *ruthful*, originally 'full of pity', then 'pitiable'.

50. *unresisted*] irresistible. So in Shakespeare, *Lucrece*, 282.

51. *chang'd*] For the confusion of *d* and *e* see above, note on ii. i. 72.

As these thy protestations do paint forth,
 We two, as friends, one fortune will divide : 55
 Cupid shall lay his arrows in thy lap,
 And to a sceptre change his golden shafts ;
 Fancy and modesty shall live as mates,
 And thy fair peacocks by my pigeons perch :
 Love my Æneas, and desire is thine ; 60
 The day, the night, my swans, my sweets, are thine.

Juno. More than melodious are these words to me,
 That overcloy my soul with their content :
 Venus, sweet Venus, how may I deserve
 Such amorous favours at thy beauteous hand ? 65
 But, that thou mayst more easily perceive
 How highly I do prize this amity,
 Hark to a motion of eternal league,
 Which I will make in quittance of thy love :
 Thy son, thou know'st, with Dido now remains 70
 And feeds his eyes with favours of her court ;
 She, likewise, in admiring spends her time,
 And cannot talk nor think of aught but him ;
 Why should not they, then, join in marriage,
 And bring forth mighty kings to Carthage town, 75

57. *to a sceptre . . . golden shafts*] I.e. adopt *Juno's* emblem instead of that which he bore as god of love.

58. *Fancy*] Amorous affection ; cf. below, III. iii. 79 and III. iv. 55, 'As made disdain to fly to fancy's lap.' In line 60 *desire* is similarly used, almost as a personification of Venus herself.

62. *More . . . words*] Knutowski compares III. iv. 51 below, and I *Tamburlaine*, III. iii. (1219),

'And speech more pleasant than sweet harmony.'

62-80. *More . . . throne*] Suggested by *Aen.*, IV. 99-104, but not closely parallel.

71. *feeds . . . favours*] See note on III. ii. 11, above.

72. *admiring*] Marlowe was very fond of the word *admire*, which he

often uses, as here, to describe a passionate experience of the soul, gazing with a wild surmise. Compare IV. ii. 46, below ; also *Hero and Leander*, II. 325,

'Whence his *admiring* eyes more pleasure tooke
 Than Dis, on heapes of gold fixing
 his looke' ;

I *Tamburlaine*, II. iii. 23 (621),

'Weel . . . dim their eies
 That stand and muse at our
 admyred armes.'

Ibid. V. ii. 101 (1945),

'euery sweetnes that inspir'd their
 harts,
 Their minds, and muses on
 admyred theames,'
 and many others.

Whom casualty of sea hath made such friends ?
 And, Venus, let there be a match confirm'd
 Betwixt these two, whose loves are so alike ;
 And both our deities, conjoin'd in one,
 Shall chain felicity unto their throne. 80

Ven. Well could I like this reconcilment's means ;
 But much I fear, my son will ne'er consent,
 Whose armed soul, already on the sea,
 Darts forth her light to Lavinia's shore.

Juno. Fair queen of love, I will divorce these doubts, 85
 And find the way to weary such fond thoughts.
 This day they both a-hunting forth will ride
 Into these woods, adjoining to these walls ;
 When, in the midst of all their gamesome sports
 I'll make the clouds dissolve their watery works 90
 And drench Silvanus' dwellings with their showers.
 Then in one cave the queen and he shall meet,

84. *light*] Q ; *lightning* conj. Dyce. *to*] Q ; *unto* Cunningham (conj. Dyce) ; *to the* Grosart. *Lavinias*] Q ; *Lavinian* conj. Dyce ; *Lavinium's* conj. Grosart. 88. *these woods*] Q ; *the woods* Dyce. 91. *showers*] *shewers* Q.

76. *Whom*] The antecedent is *they* in line 74.

casualty of sea] The chance of Aeneas' shipwreck ; compare Othello's 'moving accidents by flood' (*Oth.*, I. iii. 135). Marlowe uses *casualty* only here.

80. *chain . . . throne*] Cf. I *Tamburlaine*, I. ii. 173 (369),

'I hold the Fates bound fast in yron chaines.'

81-84. *Well . . . shore*] Venus answers rather differently in Vergil (*Aen.*, IV. 107-114) : she fears that Jupiter will not permit an alliance of Trojans and Tyrians.

84. *Darts . . . shore*] This cannot be scanned as a nine-syllable line without forcing the accents ; and it can be read as decasyllabic only by putting a barbarous accent upon the third syllable of *Lavinia's* (as though it were a Greek name like Iphigenia). It is hard to be-

lieve that the poet can have so pronounced it ; cf. v. i. 78, below, where *Lavinian* is correctly pronounced. The emendations do not help. The opening lines of the *Aeneid* refer to the Lavinian shores, 'Laviniaque . . . litora.'

85-95. *Fair . . . propound*] This follows *Aen.*, IV. 115-127 without close parallel. The time of the hunting party is changed from 'to-morrow morning' in Vergil ('ubi primos crastinus ortus Extulerit Titan') to 'This day'—perhaps out of regard for the unities.

86. *weary*] To eliminate by wearing them away or wearing them out. The alliteration in this line and the preceding ('divorce . . . doubts') perhaps accounts for the mannered language.

88. *these woods . . . these walls*] See note, above, on II. i. 335.

91. *Silvanus' dwellings*] I.e. the woods.

And interchangeably discourse their thoughts,
 Whose short conclusion will seal up their hearts
 Unto the purpose which we now propound. 95

Ven. Sister, I see you savour of my wiles ;
 Be it as you will have for this once.
 Meantime Ascanius shall be my charge ;
 Whom I will bear to Ida in mine arms,
 And couch him in Adonis' purple down. 100
 [Exeunt.]

SCENE III

*Enter DIDO, ÆNEAS, ANNA, IARBAS, ACHATES, CUPID
 as ASCANIUS, and Followers.*

Dido. Æneas, think not but I honour thee,
 That thus in person go with thee to hunt :
 My princely robes, thou see'st, are laid aside,

97. *will have*] Q ; *will have it* Hurst. *Scene III.* add. Hurst.

93. *interchangeably*] mutually. This is legal language. Compare *seal up* in the next line, and Shakespeare, 1 *Henry IV*, III. i. 82 ('sealed interchangeably'), *Troilus and Cressida*, III. ii. 60 ('In witness whereof the parties interchangeably—'), *Richard II*, v. ii. 98 ('interchangeably set down their hands').

97. *Be . . . once*] A poor line, but hardly improved by the extra syllable inserted by Hurst and following editors. Scan as a nine-syllable line: 'Be | it as | you will | have for | this once.' The stress on *will* was probably less unnatural than it now seems to us. We still say, 'Do as you *will* do.'

96–100. *Sister . . . down*] In Vergil Venus merely nods assent, *Aen.*, IV. 127–128, and laughs to herself at Juno's transparent wiles. Ascanius is not present in the Latin account of the interview: he had already been carried to the Italian groves, *Aen.*, I. 691–694:

'At Venus Ascanio placidam per membra quietem

Inrigat, et fotum gremio dea tollit
 in altos
 Idaliae lucos, ubi mollis amaracus
 illum
 Floribus et dulci adspirans com-
 plectitur umbra.'

The Idalian groves were in Cyprus and not connected with Mt. Ida. Cf. below, v. i. 41.

100. *Adonis' purple down*] The *silver down* of Venus' swans has been mentioned above, I. i. 36, as an aid to slumber. Is it possible that the allusion here is to the anemones which sprang from the blood of Adonis? Cf. *Venus and Adonis*, 1167–1168:

'And in his blood that on the
 ground lay spill'd
 A purple flower sprung up,
 chequer'd with white.'

Scene III.

Enter Dido, etc.] The Quarto omits to mention the entrance of Cupid as Ascanius. 'I believe the scene is meant to change during the progress of the action, Dido's first

Whose glittering pomp Diana's shrouds supplies ;
 All fellows now, dispos'd alike to sport ; 5
 The woods are wide, and we have store of game.
 Fair Trojan, hold my golden bow a while,
 Until I gird my quiver to my side.—
 Lords, go before ; we two must talk alone.

Iar. Ungentle, can she wrong Iarbas so ? 10
 I'll die before a stranger have that grace.
 ' We two will talk alone '—what words be these ?

[Aside.]

Dido. What makes Iarbas here of all the rest ?
 We could have gone without your company.

Æn. But love and duty led him on perhaps 15
 To press beyond acceptance to your sight.

Iar. Why, man of Troy, do I offend thine eyes ?
 Or art thou griev'd thy betters press so nigh ?

Dido. How now, Gætulian ! are ye grown so brave,

4. *shrowdes*] Q ; *shroud* Hurst. 5. *fellowes*] Q ; *follow us* Cunningham.
 12. *Aside*] add. Dyce. 19. *ye*] Q ; *you* Dyce.

speech being uttered as she leaves the palace, and the wood being reached at about line 30. Cf. *Aen.*, iv. 129-159' (McKerrow). Except in the four lines discussed below (32-33, 37-38) there is little similarity between this scene and the corresponding passage in Vergil. Iarbas is not mentioned in the latter.

4. *shrouds supplies*] The present plural in -s is nearly as common in Marlowe as in Shakespeare. Compare the Prologue to 2 *Tamburlaine*, line 5, 'murdrous Fates *throwes* al his triumphs down'; 2 *Tamb.*, i. iv. (2655).

'such speeches to our princely sonnes

Dismaies their minds';

1 *Tamb.*, i. i. 117 (125), 'our neighbours . . . Now *sits* and *laughs*,' etc., etc. In the next scene of *Dido* (iii. iv. 57) we have the -s plural with a compound subject. The meaning is: Diana's shrouds

<i.e. hunting costume> supplant the glittering pomp of Dido's princely robes.

5. Cunningham's emendation is atrocious. McKerrow explains the phrase in the Quarto, 'all equals—I have laid aside my state', and cites several examples, e.g. Dekker, *Lanthorn and Candle-light* (ed. Grosart, iii. 254): 'the Seruing-men cast off their blew coates, and cried *All fellows!*'

7. *hold my golden bow*] Throughout this play Dido is as naively conscious as is the heroine of *A Kiss for Cinderella* of her princely rank and luxurious trappings (note lines 1-4 above). It was not easy to translate Vergil's epic magniloquence into the language of real drama.

19. *Gætulian*] In his *Have With You to Saffron-Walden* (1596) Nashe uses this word as a term of contempt, 'Getulian slabberies'.

McKerrow remarks: 'I can find no authority for the depreciatory

To challenge us with your comparisons ? 20

Peasant, go seek companions like thyself,

And meddle not with any that I love.—

Æneas, be not mov'd at what he says ;

For otherwhile he will be out of joint.

Iar. Women may wrong by privilege of love ; 25

But, should that man of men, Dido except,

Have taunted me in these opprobrious terms,

I would have either drunk his dying blood,

Or else I would have given my life in gage !

Dido. Huntsmen, why pitch you not your toils apace, 30

And rouse the light-foot deer from forth their lair ?

Anna. Sister, see, see Ascanius in his pomp,

Bearing his hunt-spear bravely in his hand !

Dido. Yea, little son, are you so forward now ?

sense in which the word is used.' Of course, Dido uses it here contemptuously, which may have suggested it to Nashe, rather than some other epithet implying barbarousness.

20. *comparisons*] Cf. *Much Ado about Nothing*, II. i. 154, 'he'll but break a comparison or two on me'; *Love's Labour's Lost*, v. ii. 852, 'full of comparisons and wounding flouts'; *1 Henry VI*, v. iv. 150, 'stand'st thou aloof upon comparison?'

24. *otherwhile*] from time to time. Cf. *1 Henry VI*, I. ii. 7:

'Otherwhiles the famish'd English,
like pale ghosts,
Faintly besiege us one hour in a month.'

out of joint] 'I take this to mean "cantankerous," but the sense is unrecognized in *N.E.D.*' (McKerrow). I think it means 'dis-jointed' as often used of talk, i.e. impertinent or irrelevant. Professor Case defines it, 'all wrong, distempered and disordered,—like the time in *Hamlet*'.

26. *that man . . . except*] McKerrow takes *man of men* here to mean 'simply "any human be-

ing", though *N.E.D.* gives it under *man* 6b "a man of supreme excellence", as in *Antony and Cleopatra*, I. v. 72.' McKerrow adds two contemporary instances of the sense sanctioned by *N.E.D.* in R. Harvey's *Philadelphus* (1593) and Nashe's Preface to *Menaphon*. (For discussion of the way in which phrases like *man of men*, *heart of hearts*, *joy of joys* acquired the force of a superlative—"greatest man", etc., see L. Kellner, *Historical Outlines of English Syntax*, pp. 15-16, 99. I think there is no need to take the phrase in any other than the dictionary sense. There is certainly a suggestion of outstanding eminence in *that man of men*, and the logical fallacy involved in *Dido except* is an extremely common one. *Iarbas* means: 'Should the worthiest man alive—should any human creature except Dido—have taunted me thus.' Grosart assumes that 'the whole line betrays that hasty carelessness which was a characteristic of Nashe and Greene'. 29. *in gage*] in pledge, as assurance of my earnestness.

32-33, 37-38. *Sister . . . hand, Meantime . . . jaws*] Suggested by *Aen.*, IV. 156-159:

Cup. Ay, mother ; I shall one day be a man, 35
 And better able unto other arms ;
 Meantime these wanton weapons serve my war,
 Which I will break betwixt a lion's jaws.

Dido. What, dar'st thou look a lion in the face ?

Cup. Ay ; and outface him too, do what he can. 40

Anna. How like his father speaketh he in all !

Æn. And mought I live to see him sack rich Thebes,
 And load his spear with Grecian princes' heads.
 Then would I wish me with Anchises' tomb,
 And dead to honour that hath brought me up. 45

Iar. And might I live to see thee shipp'd away,
 And hoist aloft on Neptune's hideous hills,
 Then would I wish me in fair Dido's arms,
 And dead to scorn that hath pursu'd me so.

[*Aside.*

Æn. Stout friend Achates, dost thou know this wood ? 50

Ach. As I remember, here you shot the deer
 That sav'd your famish'd soldiers' lives from death,
 When first you set your foot upon the shore ;
 And here we met fair Venus, virgin-like,
 Bearing her bow and quiver at her back. 55

Æn. O, how these irksome labours now delight,

35, 40. *Cup.*] *Asca.* Q. 42. *mought*] Q ; *might* Hurst. 49. S. D.
Aside] add. Dyce.

' At puer Ascanius mediis in
 vallibus acri
 Gaudet equo, iamque hos cursu,
 iam praeterit illos,
 Spumantemque dari pecora inter
 inertia votis
 Optat aprum, aut fulvum descen-
 dere monte leonem.'

37. *wanton*] childish.

42. *mought*] This old form is re-
 placed by the usual *might* in line 46 ;
mought occurs again in 3 *Henry VI*,
 v. ii. 45.

rich Thebes] In *Dr. Faustus*
 (639 f.) Marlowe remembers the
 miraculous construction of the
 walls of Thebes by Amphion :

' And hath not he that built the
 walles of Thebes,
 With rauishing sound of his
 melodious harp
 Made musick with my Mephasto-
 philis ? '

43. *load . . . heads*] Reminiscence
 of II. i. 214-215 above.

51-53. *As . . . shore*] See note
 on I. i. 165, 168. There is no hint
 in Vergil that the wood which
 figures in Book IV is the same as the
 one in Book I.

56-59. *O . . . tale ?*] The
 famous Vergilian ' forsā et haec
 olim meminisse iuvabit ' (*Æn.*, I.
 203) is cleverly worked in.

And overjoy my thoughts with their escape !
 Who would not undergo all kind of toil,
 To be well stor'd with such a winter's tale ?

Dido. Æneas, leave these dumps, and let's away, 60

Some to the mountains, some unto the soil,
 You to the valleys—thou [*to Iarbas*] unto the house.

[*Exeunt all except Iarbas.*]

Iar. Ay, this it is which wounds me to the death,

To see a Phrygian, far-fet o' the sea,
 Preferr'd before a man of majesty. 65

O love ! O hate ! O cruel women's hearts,

That imitate the moon in every change,

And, like the planets, ever love to range !

What shall I do, thus wronged with disdain ?

Revenge me on Æneas or on her ? 70

On her ! fond man, that were to war 'gainst heaven,

62. S. D. *to Iarbas*] add. Grosart. S. D. *Exeunt . . . Iarbas*] Hurst ;
Exeunt omnes : manent Q. 64. *far fet*] Q ; *far set* Hurst ; *forfeit* conj.
 Broughton. o'] present editor ; *to Q ; o'er Dyce.*

59. *a winter's tale*] Cf. *Jew of Malta*, II. i. 24-25 (663 f.) :

' Now I remember those old womens words,

Who in my wealth wud tell me winters tales.'

61. *the soil*] 'I.e. the water. *To take soil* was a very common hunting-term applied to a deer, and meaning to take refuge in the water' (Dyce). Shakespeare does not use it. Dyce cites instances from Cotgrave, Sylvester, and from Petowe's continuation of *Hero and Leander* : 'The chased deere hath soile to coole his heate.' Cf. Nashe, *Christ's Tears* (McKerrow, III. 112), concerning the buck : 'into some solitary Ditch he with-drawes himselfe, and *takes soyle*, and batheth . . .'

64. *far-fet o'*] far-fetched by. Marlowe has in the translation of Lucan, 94, 'far fet story', and in *Hero and Leander*, II. 255, 'fire from heauen fet'. Cf. 2 *Henry VI*,

III. i. 293, 'far-fet policy' (*1 Contention* version, 'far fetcht') ; *ibid.*, II. iv. 33, 'deep-fet groans' (not in *1 Contention*). Mitford's conjecture, 'Phrygian o' the farthest sea', is of no consequence.

66-67. *O . . . change*] Somewhat suggestive of Chaucer, *Clerk's Tale* (pt. vi. 995 f.) :

' O stormy peple ! unsad and ever untrew ! . . .

For lyk the moone ay wexe ye and wane ! '

But the idea is, of course, a commonplace.

68. *like . . . range*] There is a certain similarity to the famous lines in *1 Tamburlaine*, II. vi. 61 ff. (872 f.), where our souls are said to 'measure euery wandring plannets course,
 Still climbing after knowledge infinite,
 And alwaies moouing as the restles Sphæares.'

And with one shaft provoke ten thousand darts.
 This Trojan's end will be thy envy's aim,
 Whose blood will reconcile thee to content,
 And make love drunken with thy sweet desire. 75
 But Dido, that now holdeth him so dear,
 Will die with very tidings of his death :
 But time will discontinue her content,
 And mould her mind unto new fancy's shapes.
 O God of heaven, turn the hand of Fate 80
 Unto that happy day of my delight !
 And then—what then ? Iarbas shall but love :
 So doth he now, though not with equal gain ;
 That resteth in the rival of thy pain,
 Who ne'er will cease to soar till he be slain. [*Exit.* 85

SCENE IV

The storm. Enter ÆNEAS and DIDO in the cave, at several times.

Dido. Æneas !

Æn. Dido !

Dido. Tell me, dear love, how found you out this cave ?

Æn. By chance, sweet queen, as Mars and Venus met.

Scene IV] add. Hurst.

72. *shaft . . . darts]* A dart was a heavy missile, a javelin ; a shaft only an arrow.

73. *This Trojan's end, etc.]* The soliloquy of Iarbas from this point is irrelevant and inconsistent with his later actions. The slaying of Aeneas is never seriously brought into the plot, but the poet appears to have wished to try his hand at depicting the thoughts of a villain-hero. One might suspect that the amiability of Iarbas in v. i. 62 ff. was not in the original design.

83-85. A triplet. McKerrow suggests that *thy* in line 84 may be a

slip for 'my' ; but cf. lines 71-75, where Iarbas uses the second person consistently of himself. Compare note on III. i. 6, above.

Scene IV.

S. D. *at several times]* That is, not simultaneously, but one after the other.

3. *as Mars and Venus met]* From Aeneas the remark is a little un-filial, but the story was common property. Cf. Ovid, *Met.*, iv. 170-184 ; Odyssey, viii. 266 ff. Marlowe alludes to it in *Hero and Leander*, I. 151-152, II. 305-306, and in *2 Tamburlaine*, iv. i. (3742).

- Dido.* Why, that was in a net, where we are loose ;
 And yet I am not free—O, would I were ! 5
- Æn.* Why, what is it that Dido may desire
 And not obtain, be it in human power ?
- Dido.* The thing that I will die before I ask,
 And yet desire to have before I die.
- Æn.* It is not aught Æneas may achieve ? 10
- Dido.* Æneas ! no ; although his eyes do pierce.
- Æn.* What, hath Iarbas anger'd her in aught ?
 And will she be avenged on his life ?
- Dido.* Not anger'd me, except in angering thee.
- Æn.* Who, then, of all so cruel, may he be 15
 That should detain thy eye in his defects ?
- Dido.* The man that I do eye where'er I am ;
 Whose amorous face, like Pæan, sparkles fire,
 Whenas he butts his beams on Flora's bed.
 Prometheus hath put on Cupid's shape, 20

4. *where*] Q ; *here* Hurst. 13. *auenged*] Q ; *revenged* Cunningham.
 18. *Peañ*] Q ; *Paean's* Hurst. 20. *hath*] Q ; *now hath* Grosart.

4. *where*] whereas. The use is very common.

10. *achieve*] Used not solely of physical performances, but of intellectual gains as well ; cf. below, v. i. 65,

'Which neither art nor reason may achieve,'

and 1 *Tamburlaine*, III. i. 56 (974),

'What thinks your greatnes best to be atchieu'd

In pursuit of the Cities ouerthrow ?'

(where the meaning is almost, 'What plans shall we make ?') I take it that Æneas' question is capable of a double interpretation : (1) Is it anything I can do ? (2) Is it anything I may know about ?

11. *Æneas . . . pierce*] Dido quibbly takes the second interpretation (which is doubtless not the one Æneas had in mind) : 'No, Æneas must not discover,' or

'Æneas, for all his piercing eyes, is very slow of apprehension !'

18. *Paean*] The healer : Apollo, and hence the sun. Ovid uses the epithet, *Met.*, XIV. 720.

19. *butts . . . beams . . . bed*] Note the alliteration. *Flora's bed* is, of course, the earth ; cf. 1 *Tamburlaine*, v. ii. (1921), 'Flora in her mornings pride' ; 2 *Tamburlaine*, II. ii. (2943), 'flourisheth as Flora in her pride'. For the idea of the sun-beams *butting*, as if with physical pressure, against the object they encounter compare Caxton's *Eneydos* (1490), ch. x. (E.E.T.S. ed., p. 40) : 'after that the lyghte of the day rebouted [rebutted] & putte a backe the shadowe of the nyghte . . .' In the Lucan translation, line 169, the rapidly extending Roman territories are called '*butting lands*'.

20. *Prometheus*] The fire-bringer. The name is here a quadrisyllable, as Dyce noted. The Devonshire copy of Q has *now* added in manu-

And I must perish in his burning arms :

Æneas, O Æneas, quench these flames !

Æn. What ails my queen ? is she faln sick of late ?

Dido. Not sick, my love ; but sick I must conceal

The torment that it boots me not reveal : 25

And yet I'll speak,—and yet I'll hold my peace.

Do shame her worst, I will disclose my grief :

Æneas, thou art he—what did I say ?

Something it was that now I have forgot.

Æn. What means fair Dido by this doubtful speech ? 30

Dido. Nay, nothing ; but Æneas loves me not.

Æn. Æneas' thoughts dare not ascend so high

As Dido's heart, which monarchs might not scale.

Dido. It was because I saw no king like thee,

Whose golden crown might balance my content ; 35

But now that I have found what to affect,

I follow one that loveth fame for me,

And rather had seem fair to Sirens' eyes,

36. *affect*] Hurst ; *effect* Q. 37. *for*] Q ; '*fore* Dyce. 38. *seeme*] Q ; *seen* Hurst. *fair to*] Cunningham ; *faire* Q ; *fair in* Dyce.

script, whence Grosart got his unnecessary emendation.

21. *And . . . arms*] The poet is thinking of the myth of Jupiter and Semele, referred to in *Dr. Faustus* (1343-1344) :

'Brighter art thou then flaming
Jupiter,
When he appeard to haplesse
Semele.'

24-27. *Not sick . . . grief*] Editors punctuate variously. McKerrow says of 24-25 : 'These lines are far from satisfactory, and something has probably gone wrong—the rimes (*conceale : reueale*) are suspicious—but a kind of sense can be obtained by taking all from *but sick* to the end of 27 as an aside.' Professor Brereton would arrange : *Not sick, my love, but—Sick !* [Aside] *I must conceal the torment*, etc. 'She is almost betrayed into

a confession, and on the spur of the moment can think of no better excuse for her disquietude than the explanation suggested by Æneas' question.' I think she means, 'Not literally sick, but sick that I must conceal,' etc.

33. *which . . . scale*] Alluding to Dido's words above, III. i. 149 ff.

36. *affect*] Common both in Marlowe and in Shakespeare in the sense of 'care for'. The same misprint which appears in the Quarto here is found in the Ovid translation, II. xix. 46,

'That can *effect* a foolish wittalls wife.'

McKerrow thinks this 'probably rather a confusion with *affect* than a misprint for the latter word'.

37. *for*] instead of. There is no occasion for emendation.

Than to the Carthage queen that dies for him.

Æn. If that your majesty can look so low 40

As my despised worths that shun all praise,

With this my hand I give to you my heart,

And vow, by all the gods of hospitality,

By heaven and earth, and my fair brother's bow,

By Paphos, Capys, and the purple sea 45

From whence my radiant mother did descend,

And by this sword that sav'd me from the Greeks,

Never to leave these new-upreared walls,

Whiles Dido lives and rules in Juno's town,—

Never to like or love any but her! 50

Dido. What more than Delian music do I hear,

That calls my soul from forth his living seat

To move unto the measures of delight?

Kind clouds, that sent forth such a courteous storm

As made disdain to fly to fancy's lap! 55

Stout love, in mine arms make thy Italy,

Whose crown and kingdom rests at thy command:

Sichæus, not Æneas, be thou call'd;

The king of Carthage, not Anchises' son:

Hold, take these jewels at thy lover's hand, 60

[*Giving jewels, etc.*]

46. *descend*] Q; *ascend* Bullen.

41. *despised*] lowly.

43. *And . . . hospitality*] A hexameter line.

45. *Capys . . . sea*] Capys was father of Anchises. His grandson couples him with the purple sea, which by the myth referred to was the parent of Venus. Thus Aeneas swears by his progenitors on the two sides (McKerrow).

46. *descend*] Used, as McKerrow explains, in the genealogical sense. Compare I. i. 127-129, above. Bullen's emendation is so obvious that it must have occurred to most other editors. I think they have judged wisely that the alteration was not warrantable. (Cf. also Grosart, Gloss. Index, s.v. *descend*.)

60. S. D. add. Dyce.

49. *Whiles . . . town*] Almost a parody of III. ii. 20 above. Marlowe in his early plays is perpetually echoing his own verses.

51. *What . . . hear*] See note on III. ii. 62 above.

54. *Kind clouds . . . courteous storm*] Compare *Midsummer Night's Dream*, v. i. 179: 'Thanks, courteous wall: Jove shield thee well for this!' There are lines in this play at which Shakespeare may well have smiled. See note on II. i. 254.

58. *Sichæus*] The deceased husband of Dido, referred to again in line 62. Vergil tells his story, *Æn.*, I. 343 ff.

These golden bracelets, and this wedding-ring,
Wherewith my husband woo'd me yet a maid,
And be thou king of Libya by my gift.

[*Exeunt to the cave.*]

63. S. D. *Exeunt to the cave*] This is the Quarto direction. Lines 16–24 of the next scene show that it was meant to be actually represented on the stage. See Chambers, *Elizabethan Stage*, III. 35: ‘I think that one side of the stage was arranged

en pastoralle, and represented the wood between the sea-shore and Carthage, where the shipwrecked Trojans land and where later Aeneas and Dido hunt. Here was the cave where they take shelter from the storm.’

ACT IV

SCENE I

Enter ACHATES, CUPID *as* ASCANIUS, IARBAS, *and* ANNA.

Ach. Did ever men see such a sudden storm,

Or day so clear so suddenly o'ercast ?

Iar. I think some fell enchantress dwelleth here,

That can call them forth whenas she please,

And dive into black tempest's treasury, 5

Whenas she means to mask the world with clouds.

Anna. In all my life I never knew the like ;

It hail'd, it snow'd, it lighten'd, all at once.

Act IV.

S. D. *Cupid as Ascanius*] Hurst; *Ascanius Q.* 4. *That*] Q; *One that*
Grosart (conj. Mitford). *them forth*] Q; *forth the winds* conj. Bullen.

Scene I.

4. *That . . . please*] Mitford and Deighton independently suggested 'One that can,' etc., which Grosart adopts. Dyce admits that the line is corrupt, but thinks 'the corruption seems to lie in the word *them*'; hence Bullen conjectures, 'That can call forth *the winds*,' etc. No emendation is required if the verse is scanned as a nine-syllable ('That | can call | ', etc.), and *them* understood as referring to *storm* in line 1 in the common colloquial fashion. The reference to the *fell enchantress* and her powers in this speech has been suggested by Vergil's priestess of the temple of the Hesperides. See below, v. i. 275.

5. *dive . . . treasury*] Cf. 1 *Tamburlaine*, iv. iv. 17-18 (1655 f.):

'Ye Furies that can maske inuisible,
Diuë to the bottome of *Auernas*
[sic] poole,

And in your hands bring hellish
poison vp';

2 *Tamburlaine*, v. iii. 33 (4425):

'And Angels diue into the pooles of
hell.'

These passages were probably not without influence upon Hotspur's rodomontade, 1 *Henry IV*, i. iii. 203 ff.,

'Or dive into the bottom of the
deep . . .

And pluck up drowned honour by
the locks.'

6. *Whenas . . . clouds*] Cf. above, ii. i. 140; *Jew of Malta*, ii. (1095 f.):

'But rather let the brightsome
heauens be dim,

And Natures beauty choake with
stifeling clouds';

2 *Tamburlaine*, v. iii. 6 (4398):

'Weepe heauens . . .

Muffle your beauties with eternall
clowdes.'

Ach. I think, it was the devil's revelling night,
 There was such hurly-burly in the heavens : 10
 Doubtless Apollo's axle-tree is crack'd,
 Or aged Atlas' shoulder out of joint,
 The motion was so over-violent.
Iar. In all this coil, where have ye left the queen ?
Cup. Nay, where's my warlike father, can you tell ? 15
Anna. Behold where both of them come forth the cave.
Iar. Come forth the cave ! can heaven endure this sight ?
 Iarbas, curse that unrevenging Jove,

15. *Cup.*] *Asca.* Q. *where's*] Hurst; *where is* Q.

9. *the devil's revelling night*] A kind of Walpurgisnacht. Perhaps the Quarto *diuels* should be modernized *devils*. Compare 2 *Tamburlaine*, I. vi. (2781) :

'Nigra Silua, where the Deuils dance';

Massacre at Paris (453) :

'That bel that to the deuils mattins rings.'

10. *hurly-burly*] commotion; a common word with Nashe (cf. McKerrow, v. Index).

11. *Apollo's axle-tree*] The axis on which the sun rotates. Cf. 1 *Tamburlaine*, iv. ii. (1493 f.) :

'Clymenes brain-sicke sonne [i.e. Phaethon],
 That almost brent the Axeltree of heauen';

2 *Tamburlaine*, I. ii. 12-13 (2414 f.) :

'As when the massy substance of the earth
 Quiuer about the Axeltree of heauen';

Dr. Faustus (652) :

'the spheares . . .
 All iointly moue vpon one axle-tree';

Ovid, Bk. I., Elegy xiii. 1-2 :

'Now ore the sea from her old Loue comes she [Aurora]
 That drawes the day from heauens cold axeltree.'

Compare also *Troilus and Cressida*, I. iii. 66,

'strong as the axletree on which heaven rides'.

12. *aged Atlas' shoulder*] The myth that Atlas bore the weight of the heavens on his shoulders is often referred to by Marlowe. Cf. above, I. i. 99. Also 1 *Tamburlaine*, II. i. 10-11 (464 f.) :

'Such breadth of shoulders as might mainely beare
 Old Atlas burthen';

2 *Tamburlaine*, v. iii. (4450 f.) :

'pierce his <Atlas> breast,
 Whose shoulders beare the Axis of the world';

ibid., iv. i. (3803) :

'Shaking the burthen mighty Atlas beares';

Edward II (1384 f.) :

'heauens great beames
 On Atlas shoulder shall not lie more safe.'

14-24. *In all . . . cave*] In Vergil it is the goddess Fama, or Rumour, who spreads the news, and (*Aen.*, iv. 196-197) :

'Protinus ad regem cursus detorquet Iarban,
 Incenditque animum dictis, atque aggerat iras.'

14. *coil*] uproar; cf. 2 *Tamburlaine*, iv. i. (3748), 'What a coyle they keepe, I beleeeue there will be some hurt done anon . . .'

18. *curse . . . Jove*] Cf. 1 *Tamburlaine*, III. iii. (1367 f.) :

Whose flinty darts slept in Typhœus' den,
 Whiles these adulterers surfeited with sin. 20
 Nature, why mad'st me not some poisonous
 beast,
 That with the sharpness of my edged sting
 I might have stak'd them both unto the earth,
 Whilst they were sporting in this darksome cave ?

Enter ÆNEAS and DIDO.

Æn. The air is clear, and southern winds are whist. 25
 Come, Dido, let us hasten to the town,
 Since gloomy Æolus doth cease to frown.
Dido. Achates and Ascanius, well met.
Æn. Fair Anna, how escap'd you from the shower ?
Anna. As others did, by running to the wood. 30
Dido. But where were you, Iarbas, all this while ?
Iar. Not with Æneas in the ugly cave.
Dido. I see, Æneas sticketh in your mind

19. *Typhoeus*] *Tiphous* Q. 20. *Whiles*] Q; *While* Hurst. 24.
 Bullen marks Iarbas' speech *Aside*. S. D. *Enter . . . Dido*] add.
 Hurst.

' O Mahomet, Oh sleepe Mahomet !
 O cursed Mahomet that makest vs
 thus
 The slaves to Scythians rude and
 barbarous ! '

19. *Typhoeus' den*] This was Mt. Aetna, where Jupiter's darts were forged. Milton's 'Typhon, whom the den By ancient Tarsus held' (P.L., i. 199) rests upon post-classical authority. For the story of Typhoeus or Typhon cf. Ovid, *Met.*, iii. 303, v. 346-358. The spelling *Tiphous* in the Quarto may quite as easily represent *Typhon's* as *Typhoeus*. The two forms of the name were used interchangeably: Golding's translation of the *Metamorphoses* calls the giant *Typhoeus* in the third book (381) and *Typhon* in the fifth (439). In 1 *Tambur-*

laine, iii. iii. (1207) Marlowe uses the latter :

' Their limbs more large and of a
 bigger size
 Than all the brats ysprong of
 Typhons loins.'

The only real argument for the trisyllabic form in the present case is that it makes the scansion more regular, but the other would put a stress upon *slept* that is dramatically effective :

' Whose flin|ty darts | *slept* | in
 Ty|phon's den.'

25. *whist*] silent. Compare *The Tempest*, i. ii. 378: 'the wild waves *whist*'; *Hero and Leander*, i. 346: 'all is *whist* and still'; Marlowe's *Lucan*, 262: 'so all were *whist*'.

But I will soon put by that stumbling-block,
 And quell those hopes that thus employ your cares. 35
 [Exeunt.]

SCENE II

Enter IARBAS to sacrifice.

Iar. Come, servants, come ; bring forth the sacrifice,
 That I may pacify that gloomy Jove,
 Whose empty altars have enlarg'd our ills.—

[*Servants bring in the sacrifice, and then exeunt.*

Eternal Jove, great master of the clouds,
 Father of gladness and all frolic thoughts, 5
 That with thy gloomy hand corrects the heaven,
 When airy creatures war amongst themselves ;
 Hear, hear, O, hear Iarbas' plaining prayers,
 Whose hideous echoes make the welkin howl,
 And all the woods Eliza to resound ! 10

35. *cares*] Hurst ; *eares* Q. *Scene II*] add. Hurst. S. D. *Enter*
Enters Q. 3. S. D. add. Dyce.

35. *cares*] All editors have adopted Hurst's emendation, which, however, is not so obvious as it looks, for *e* and *c* are very dissimilar letters in Elizabethan non-Italian handwriting. It might be just possible to defend the Quarto's *employ your eares* as meaning 'cause you to be perpetually eavesdropping'.

Scene II] 'Suggested by *Aen.*, iv. 198-218' (McKerrow). Except as indicated below, lines 11-16, the connexion is not close.

5. *frolic thoughts*] Compare *Dr. Faustus* (ed. 1616, p. 207, l. 1058) : 'The Pope had neuer such a frolicke guest ;' 1 *Tamburlaine*, iv. iii. (1626) : 'As frolike as the hunters in the chace.' Marlowe uses the word frequently as a verb.

6. *gloomy*] Bullen observes well : 'The epithet *gloomy*, here and in line 2, contrasts oddly with "Father of gladness and all frolic thoughts."' It is very likely that the second *gloomy* is a printer's

error caught from the earlier line. Grosart thinks the word can be satisfactorily explained in both cases as 'angry'. Knutowski attempts to avoid the difficulty by branding line 5 as an interpolation by Nashe.

10. *Eliza*] This would seem to be an intentional echo of the many praises of Queen Elizabeth under the title of Eliza. 'The two names [i.e. *Eliza* and *Elissa* (Dido)] were regarded as equivalent, and Gabriel Harvey and many others refer to the Queen as Elissa. See Harvey's *Gratulationes Valdenses*, "De Osculo" :

"Siste, Harueie, inquit, iam iamque videbis Elissam,
 Teque tuosque elegos iam iamque videbit Elissa" (McKerrow).

Compare Spenser, *Shepherds' Calendar*, April, 39-40,

'Then will I sing his [Colin Clout's] lay
 Of fayre *Eliza*, Queene of Shep-
 hearsd all.'

The woman that thou will'd us entertain,
 Where, straying in our borders up and down,
 She crav'd a hide of ground to build a town,
 With whom we did divide both laws and land,
 And all the fruits that plenty else sends forth, 15
 Scorning our loves and royal marriage-rites,
 Yields up her beauty to a stranger's bed,
 Who, having wrought her shame, is straightway
 fled :

Now, if thou be'st a pitying god of power,
 On whom ruth and compassion ever waits, 20
 Redress these wrongs, and warn him to his ships,
 That now afflicts me with his flattering eyes.

Enter ANNA.

Anna. How now, Iarbas ! at your prayers so hard ?

Iar. Ay, Anna : is there aught you would with me ?

Anna. Nay, no such weighty business of import, 25
 But may be slack'd until another time :

12. *Where*] Q ; *When* conj. Collier.

22. *eyes*] Q ; *lips* conj. Collier.

For the common idea, *all the woods resound*, compare the refrain of Spenser's *Epithalamion* and note on line 18 of that poem in Van Winkle's ed.

11-16. *The woman . . . marriage-rites*] Closely imitated from two passages in *Aen.* :

'Femina, quae nostris errans in
 finibus urbem
 Exiguam pretio posuit, cui litus
 arandum,
 Cuique loci leges dedimus, con-
 cubia nostra
 Reppulit . . . '

(IV. 211-214) ;

and

'Mercatique solum, facti de nomine
 Byrsam,
 Taurino quantum possent circum-
 dare tergo.'

(I. 367 f.).

18. *Who . . . fled*] 'Again the

haste, or more with which *Dido* was put together is shown by this, that Aeneas had not fled, and that three lines lower Jove is asked to *warn him to his ships*. Some of these slips must be laid on the double authorship' (Grosart). McKerrow has a note to the same effect. The difficulty partly disappears, however, if we take *is* as a present used for the future because of the vividness with which Iarbas sees what is sure to happen. Compare below, rv. iv. 103 and note.

20. *wails*] For this plural form see note on III. iii. 4.

22. *eyes*] Collier's emendation, here and in line 51 below, has no purpose except to produce a rime.

23-56. Vergil has nothing in the least like this.

25-26. *no such . . . slack'd*] no business of such weighty import as may not be neglected.

Yet, if you would partake with me the cause
Of this devotion that detaineth you,
I would be thankful for such courtesy.

Iar. Anna, against this Trojan do I pray, 30
Who seeks to rob me of thy sister's love,
And dive into her heart by colour'd looks.

Anna. Alas, poor king, that labours so in vain
For her that so delighteth in thy pain!
Be rul'd by me, and seek some other love, 35
Whose yielding heart may yield thee more relief.

Iar. Mine eye is fix'd where fancy cannot start :
O, leave me, leave me to my silent thoughts,
That register the numbers of my ruth,
And I will either move the thoughtless flint, 40
Or drop out both mine eyes in drizzling tears,
Before my sorrow's tide have any stint !

Anna. I will not leave Iarbas, whom I love,
In this delight of dying pensiveness.
Away with Dido ! Anna be thy song ; 45
Anna, that doth admire thee more than heaven.

Iar. I may nor will list to such loathsome change,
That intercepts the course of my desire.—
Servants, come fetch these empty vessels here ;
For I will fly from these alluring eyes, 50
That do pursue my peace where'er it goes.

[*Exit.*—*Servants re-enter, and carry out the vessels, etc.*

Anna. Iarbas, stay, loving Iarbas, stay !
For I have honey to present thee with.
Hard-hearted, wilt not deign to hear me speak ?

39. *numbers*] Q; *number* Hurst.
S. D. *Servants . . . etc.*] add. Dyce.

32. *dive*] See note on iv. i. 5,
above.

colour'd looks] insincere looks of
affection; compare the *flattering eyes*
in line 22.

33. *that labours*] A relative pronoun,
of which the antecedent is in
the second person, commonly takes

51. *goes*] Q; *flies* conj. Collier.

a verb in the third person in Elizabethan English.

37. *start*] become loosened.
Fancy means 'affection', as in iii.
ii. 58 above.

39. *That register . . . ruth*] 'Count over my ruthless plaints' (?).
44. 'In this luxury of grief.'

I'll follow thee with outcries ne'ertheless, 55
And strew thy walks with my dishevell'd hair.

[*Exit.*

SCENE III

Enter ÆNEAS alone.

Æn. Carthage, my friendly host, adieu !
Since destiny doth call me from the shore :
Hermes this night, descending in a dream,
Hath summon'd me to fruitful Italy ;
Jove wills it so ; my mother wills it so ; 5
Let my Phœnissa grant, and then I go.
Grant she or no, Æneas must away ;
Whose golden fortunes, clogg'd with courtly ease,
Cannot ascend to Fame's immortal house,
Or banquet in bright Honour's burnish'd hall, 10
Till he hath furrow'd Neptune's glassy fields,

Scene III.

Scene III] add. Hurst. 2. *the]* Q ; *thy* Hurst. 8. *fortunes]* Q ;
fortune Hurst.

56. *dishevell'd hair]*. The Quarto spelling is *discheueld*. Compare 1 *Tamburlaine*, v. ii. (1920) :

'With haire discheweld wip'st thy watery cheeks.'

Scene III.

1. *Carthage . . . adieu !]* A tetrameter. Marlowe employs lines of four feet purposefully, often, as here, to emphasize an exclamation or apostrophe. Compare, for example, 1 *Tamburlaine*, i. ii. (368) : 'Where is this Scythian Tamburlaine !'

2. *the]* The emendation, which all the editors have adopted, is easy and obvious, but not necessary. Aeneas may mean only that destiny calls him aboard ; compare line 21.

3. *Hermes . . . dream]* 'This dream seems to be the invention of the authors. In the *Aeneid* Hermes is only sent once (cf. v. i. 24). The scene is, in fact, to some extent a reduplication of v. i. 1-50. It is, I think, from here onwards, or perhaps from the beginning of Act iv, that, if anywhere, we can detect a rehandling of the original scheme' (McKerrow). The dream was probably suggested by *Aen.*, iv. 351-353, where Aeneas tells Dido that *Anchises* has been admonishing him in his slumbers.

6. *Phoenissa]* Phoenician. Dyce refers to *Aen.*, i. 670, 714, where this word is used as an epithet of Dido.

11. *Neptune's glassy fields]* In *Hero and Leander*, ii. 203, Marlowe calls the sea 'Thetis glassie bower'.

And cut a passage through his topless hills.—
 Achates, come forth ! Sergestus, Ilioneus,
 Cloanthus, haste away ! Æneas calls.

Enter ACHATES, CLOANTHUS, SERGESTUS, and ILIONEUS.

Ach. What wills our lord, or wherefore did he call ? 15

Æn. The dreams, brave mates, that did beset my bed,
 When sleep but newly had embrac'd the night,
 Commands me leave these unrenowned reams,
 Whereas nobility abhors to stay,

16. *dreames*] Q ; *dream* Hurst.
 Q ; *realms* Dyce (2nd ed.).

18 *reams*] Dyce (1st ed.) ; *beames*

12. *topless hills*] Simply, 'very high waves'. The same hyperbole is found in the famous 'toplesse Towres of Ilium' (*Dr. Faustus*, 1329).

13. *Achates . . . Ilioneus*] The line is metrically irregular—by intention, I feel sure, to give effect to the shout of Æneas. Scan as a rapid hexameter, giving syllabic value to the pause after the first word : 'Acha|tes (x)| come forth ! | Serges|tus, Il|ioneus.' The source is *Aen.*, iv. 288 : 'Mnesthea Sergestumque vocat fortemque Serestum.' (The Frankfort Vergil of 1596 has 'Cloanthū' instead of 'Serestum' ; cf. line 14.)

16. *The dreams*] The plural is justified by the source, *Aen.*, iv. 351–353 (cf. note on line 3 above) : 'Me patris Anchisae . . . quotiens astra ignea surgunt, Admonet in somnis et turbida terret imago.' For *Commands* (line 18) as a plural verb, cf. note above, iii. iii. 4.

18. *reams*] *realms*. There is no doubt, I think, that Dyce is correct : the author wrote *unrenowned reames*, with an eye to alliterative effect, and the Quarto printer misprinted the last word as *beames*. Compare the pun in *Jew of Malta*, iv. (1834) : 'Giue me a Reame of paper, we'll haue a kingdome of gold for 't,' and Dyce's note on that passage : 'A quibble. *Realm* was frequently written *ream* ; and fre-

quently (as the following passages show), even when the former spelling was given, the *l* was not sounded :

"Vpon the siluer bosome of the
streame
 First gan faire Themis shake
 her amber locks,
 Whom all the Nymphs that waight
 on Neptunes *realme*
 Attended from the hollowe of
 the rocks."

Lodge's *Scillaes Metamorphosis*,
 &c., 1589, sig. A.2.

"How may he surest stablish his
 new conquered *realme*,
 How of his glorie fardest to
 deriue the *streame*."

A Herings Tayle, &c.,
 1598, sig. D.3.

"Learchus slew his brother for the
 crowne ;
 So did Cambyses fearing much
 the *dreame* ;
 Antiochus, of infamous renowne,
 His brother slew, to rule alone
 the *realme*."

Mirror for Magistrates,
 p. 78, ed. 1610.'

A. Wagner in his edition of *The Jew of Malta*, 1889, quotes other examples from Nares. Compare also Spenser, *Faerie Queene*, iii. v. 53 and v. vii. 23. In the first case

And none but base Æneas will abide. 20
 Aboard, aboard ! since Fates do bid aboard,
 And slice the sea with sable-colour'd ships,
 On whom the nimble winds may all day wait,
 And follow them, as footmen, through the deep.
 Yet Dido casts her eyes, like anchors, out, 25
 To stay my fleet from loosing forth the bay :
 ' Come back, come back,' I hear her cry a-far,
 ' And let me link my body to thy lips,
 That, tied together by the striving tongues,
 We may, as one, sail into Italy.' 30

Ach. Banish that ticing dame from forth your mouth,
 And follow your foreseeing stars in all :
 This is no life for men-at-arms to live,

28. *my . . . thy*] Hurst ; *my . . . my Q* ; *thy . . . my Dyce*.

the earliest edition spells *Reames*, in the second *realme*, but the rimes show that the *l* is unpronounced in both instances.

22. *sable-colour'd*] I suspect that the colour of the ships was mainly determined by the desire to alliterate.

25. *casts . . . anchors*] A 'meta-physical' touch.

28. *my body to thy lips*] The Quarto reading, *my . . . my*, cannot be defended, unless by the sophistry that Dido calls Æneas *my body*, as her real self, but this is feeble. There is not much to choose between the correction of Hurst and Robinson, *my . . . thy*, and that of Dyce and subsequent editors, *thy . . . my*. I am inclined to prefer the former, (1st) because the printer would have been more likely to assimilate the second adjective to the first than the first to the second, and (2nd) because, as Dido is supposed to speak not of holding Æneas stationary, but of going with him, it is more natural for her to say, 'Let me fasten myself to your lips' than 'Let me fasten you to my lips.'

31. *that ticing dame*] For *ricing* cf. note on II. i. 145-146. Marlowe

liked the word *dame*, which he used particularly of Helen of Troy ; e.g. in 1 *Tamburlaine*, I. i. 66 (74), 'Sir Paris with the Grecian Dame' ; *Dr. Faustus* (1251, 1258), 'that peerelesse Dame of Greece'. Achates is rather implying that Dido is 'a second Helena' (cf. v. i. 144, 148).

32. *foreseeing stars*] Marlowe's characters believe in their stars with a confidence quite Napoleonic. Compare Faustus' apostrophe (1443),

'You starres that raignd at my natiuitie,
 Whose influence hath allotted death and hel' ;

also 1 *Tamburlaine*, IV. ii. 33 (1477), 'Smile Stars that raignd at my natiuity' ; 2 *Tamburlaine*, v. iii. 2 (4394), 'Fal starres that gouerne his natiuity', and many others.

33-36. *This . . . war*] The sentiment is very similar to 1 *Tamburlaine*, v. ii. (1955 ff.) :

But how vnseemly is it for my Sex,
 My discipline of armes and Chualrie . . .
 To harbour thoughts effeminate and faint !'

Where dalliance doth consume a soldier's strength,
 And wanton motions of alluring eyes 35
 Effeminate our minds, inur'd to war.

Il. Why, let us build a city of our own,
 And not stand lingering here for amorous looks.
 Will Dido raise old Priam forth his grave,
 And build the town again the Greeks did burn? 40
 No, no; she cares not how we sink or swim,
 So she may have Æneas in her arms.

Clo. To Italy, sweet friends, to Italy!
 We will not stay a minute longer here.

Æn. Trojans, aboard, and I will follow you. 45

[*Exeunt all except Æneas.*]

I fain would go, yet beauty calls me back:
 To leave her so, and not once say farewell,
 Were to transgress against all laws of love.
 But if I use such ceremonious thanks
 As parting friends accustom on the shore, 50
 Her silver arms will coll me round about,
 And tears of pearl cry, 'Stay, Æneas, stay!'
 Each word she says will then contain a crown,
 And every speech be ended with a kiss:
 I may not dure this female drudgery: 55
 To sea, Æneas! find out Italy! [*Exit.*]

45. S. D. *Exeunt . . . Æneas*] add. Dyce. 51. coll] Q; coil Hurst.

39. *forth*] Used as a preposition, as in line 26 above. *From forth* (*fro forth*) is more common; cf. note on III. ii. 34.

42. *So . . . arms*] Almost identical with IV. iv. 135 below.

49. *ceremonious*] This is the only occurrence of the word in Marlowe. In *Dr. Faustus* (583) he uses the form *ceremoniall* ('Marriage is but a ceremoniall toy').

51. coll] embrace. No other in-

stance in Marlowe. (*Dure* in line 55 is another *hapax legomenon*.)

55. *female drudgery*] 'I.e. servitude to a woman. Or did the author perchance write "druerie"? (McKerrow). The last word does not occur in Marlowe, or apparently in Nashe. The latter has *drudgery* twice and Marlowe uses it in 1 *Tamburlaine*, v. ii. (2049), 'Smear'd with blots of basest drudgery.'

SCENE IV

*Enter Dido and ANNA.**Dido.* O Anna, run unto the water side !

They say Æneas' men are going aboard ;
 It may be, he will steal away with them :
 Stay not to answer me : run, Anna, run !

[Exit Anna.

O foolish Trojans, that would steal from hence, 5
 And not let Dido understand their drift !
 I would have given Achates store of gold,
 And Ilioneus gum and Libyan spice ;
 The common soldiers rich embroider'd coats,
 And silver whistles to control the winds, 10
 Which Circes sent Sichæus when he liv'd ;

Scene IV.

Scene IV] add. Hurst. 4. S. D. add. Dyce. 9. *embroider'd]* Hurst ;
imbrodered Q. 11. *Circes]* Q ; *Circe* Hurst.

Scene IV.

2. *They say . . . aboard]* *Aen.*,
 iv. 296-299 :

' At regina dolos—quis fallere possit
 amantem ?—

Praesensit . . . Eadem in pia
 Fama furenti
 Detulit armari classem cursumque
 parari.'

5. *O foolish Trojans]* Compare the
 apostrophe in *III. i.* 81-82.

9. *rich . . . coats]* Compare 1
Tamburlaine, I. i. (148-151) :

' The warlike Souldiers . . . march
 in coates of gold ' ;

and *Dr. Faustus* (118-119) :

' Ile haue them fill the publike
 schooles with silk,
 Wherewith the students shalbe
 brauely clad.'

10. *silver whistles . . . winds]*
 O. E. D. cites an Act of 24 Henry
 VIII (1532-3) : ' It shalbe lefull
 for . . . maisters of the Shipps
 . . . and maryners to weare *whis-*
tells of siluer ' ; also *Cocke Lorelles*

Bote (Percy Soc. ed., 12) : ' Some
 whysteled after the wynde '.

11. *Circes]* I have retained the
 Quarto form of the word, as I do
 not doubt that Marlowe wrote
Circes, which, as McKerrow says
 (note on Nashe, II. 154, 30), was in
 his time ' as common as, if not
 commoner than, " Circe " '. Nashe
 uses both *Circes* and *Circe* in the
 nominative. Marlowe has the
 name in two other passages :

' His bodie was as straight as *Circes*
 wand.'

(*Hero and Leander*, I. 61).

' That charming *Circes* walking on
 the waves.'

(*Edward II.*, 468).

The line in *Hero and Leander* offers
 no evidence about the form of the
 nominative ; on the other Briggs
 writes : ' Professor Flügel has very
 kindly pointed out to me that
Circes is a very common old French
 form, that it is the regular form in
 Chaucer and Gower, that it is a
 good fifteenth-century form, occur-

Unworthy are they of a queen's reward.

See, where they come : how might I do to chide ?

*Re-enter ANNA, with ÆNEAS, ACHATES, CLOANTHUS,
ILIONEUS, SERGESTUS, and Carthaginian Lords.*

Anna. 'Twas time to run ; Æneas had been gone ;

The sails were hoising up, and he aboard. 15

Dido. Is this thy love to me ?

Æn. O princely Dido, give me leave to speak !

I went to take my farewell of Achates.

Dido. How haps Achates bid me not farewell ?

Ach. Because I fear'd your grace would keep me here. 20

Dido. To rid thee of that doubt, aboard again :

I charge thee put to sea, and stay not here.

Ach. Then let Æneas go aboard with us.

13. S. D. *Re-enter . . . Lords*] *Enter Anna, with Aeneas, Achates, Illioneus, and Sergestus* Q. 15. *hoysing*] Q ; *hoisting* Hurst.

ring in Lydgate and in the anonymous *Destruction of Troy*, and that it very probably, along with other similar nominative-genitives, arose from the loose translation of such passages as Ovid, *Met.*, iv. 205, "Nec tenet Æææ genetrix pulcherrima Circes," xiii. 968, "Prodigiosa petit Titanidos atria Circes." Compare *Circes*, the title of Henry Iden's translation (1557) of *La Circe* by G. B. Gelli ; *Paradise of Dayntie Deuices* (ed. Rollins, pp. 63-64).

'Vlisses, O thou valiant wight,
It semed dame *Circes* loued thee
well . . .
And if where *Circes* now doeth
dwell . . .';

Ralegh, *Shepherd's Praise of Diana*
(ed. A. M. C. Latham, p. 111),

'A knowledge pure it is her worth
to know ;

With *Circes* let them dwell that
think not so' ;

Dekker, *Jests to Make You Merry*,
1607 (ed. Grosart, ii. 319), 'I had
rather chuse with those whom
Circes transformed, to liue in the

nature of bruit beasts.' (Other examples cited by McKerrow and Briggs.) Similarly *Aegles* appears as *Aegles* in North's Plutarch, Life of Theseus : 'Aegles, the nymph, was loved of Theseus.' Shakespeare, *Midsummer Night's Dream*, ii. i. 79, took this over as 'And make him with faire *Eagles* breake his faith,' where the Shakespearean editors read *Aegle* and Furness has a misleading note.

13. *how . . . do*] would it be wise ?

15. *hoising*] In line 103 of this scene the Quarto has *hoyst*, in line 153 *hoysed*. 'To hoise' was a legitimate form, used several times by Nashe. I have not noted it elsewhere in Marlowe.

16. *Is . . . me ?*] Note the effectiveness of the trimeter. With the situation compare that between Timias and Belphoebe in *Faerie Queene*, iv. vii. 36 :

' "Is this the faith ?" she said, and
said no more,
But turned her face . . .'

Cf. also above, iii. i. 36.

Dido. Get you aboard ; Æneas means to stay.

Æn. The sea is rough, the winds blow to the shore. 25

Dido. O false Æneas ! now the sea is rough ;

But when you were aboard, 'twas calm enough :

Thou and Achates meant to sail away.

Æn. Hath not the Carthage queen mine only son ?

Thinks Dido I will go and leave him here ? 30

Dido. Æneas, pardon me ; for I forgot

That young Ascanius lay with me this night ;

Love made me jealous : but to make amends,

Wear the imperial crown of Libya,

[*Giving him her crown and sceptre.*

Sway thou the Punic sceptre in my stead, 35

And punish me, Æneas, for this crime.

Æn. This kiss shall be fair Dido's punishment.

Dido. O, how a crown becomes Æneas' head !

Stay here, Æneas, and command as king.

Æn. How vain am I to wear this diadem, 40

And bear this golden sceptre in my hand !

A burgonet of steel, and not a crown,

A sword, and not a sceptre, fits Æneas.

Dido. O keep them still, and let me gaze my fill !

Now looks Æneas like immortal Jove : 45

O where is Ganymede, to hold his cup,

25. *windes blow*] Q ; *wind blows* Hurst. 34. S. D. add. Dyce. 42. S. D. *Aside* inserted before this line, Hurst. 43. S. D. *Offers to return* them add. Grosart.

25. *The sea . . . shore*] In Vergil (iv. 309-310) Dido says to Aeneas :

'Quin etiam hiberno moliris sidere classem,

Et mediis properas Aquilonibus ire per altum ?'

Throughout this entire scene there are very few parallels. The business of Anna and of Ascanius, and the vacillation of Aeneas, are invented by the authors of the play.

29. *Carthage queen*] Compare below, lines 132, 158 ; also *Carthage gods* (96), *Carthage plains* (136).

Proper nouns could be employed as adjectives in sixteenth-century English much more freely than at present.

42. *burgonet*] A light helmet. The word occurs three times in *Massacre at Paris* (236, 279, 454) and as often in *Contention*, but not in *Tamburlaine*.

45. *Now . . . Jove*] Knutowski compares Tamburlaine's words of Zenocrate, *1 Tamb.*, v. ii. (2292 ff.) : 'As Iuno, when the Giants were, suppress . . .

So lookes my Loue.'

And Mercury, to fly for what he calls ?
 Ten thousand Cupids hover in the air,
 And fan it in Æneas' lovely face !
 O that the clouds were here wherein thou fled'st, 50
 That thou and I unseen might sport ourselves !
 Heaven, envious of our joys, is waxen pale ;
 And when we whisper, then the stars fall down,
 To be partakers of our honey talk.

Æn. O Dido, patroness of all our lives, 55
 When I leave thee, death be my punishment !
 Swell, raging seas ! frown, wayward Destinies !
 Blow, winds ! threaten, ye rocks and sandy shelves !
 This is the harbour that Æneas seeks :
 Let's see what tempests can annoy me now. 60

Dido. Not all the world can take thee from mine arms.
 Æneas may command as many Moors
 As in the sea are little water drops :

50. *fled'st*] Dyce ; *fleest* Q. 52. *Heaven*] Hurst ; *Heauens* Q.

48. *Ten . . . air*] Compare *Dr. Faustus* (1291) :

'I see an Angell houers ore thy head' ;

1 *Tamburlaine*, III. iii. (1244) :

'Legions of Spirits fleeting in the ayre.'

50. *fled'st*] I.e. in the battles about Troy. For the emendation cf. II. i. 72. Bullen thinks the allusion is to *Iliad*, v., where Aeneas escaped Diomed by means of a cloud. Knutowski refers with more probability to Ovid, *Met.*, xv. 803-806, which Golding translates : 'Venus . . . was about too hyde him with the clowd in which shee hid Ænæas, when shee from the sword of Diomed did him rid.' Compare II. i. 221 f., *ante*.

52. *Heaven . . . pale*] Knutowski compares 1 *Tamburlaine*, v. ii. (2234), 'Ioue viewing me in armes, lookes pale and wan.' *Is waxen pale* means only, I suppose, 'has grown pale', but it could be con-

strued, 'is waxen-pale' (pale as wax).

54. *partakers*] Marlowe likes this word. Cf. 1 *Tamburlaine*, I. ii. (425), 'To be partaker of thy good or ill' ; Lucan, 128, 'Each side had great partakers.'

61. *Not . . . arms*] Compare 1 *Tamburlaine*, III. iii. (1330) :

'Not all the world shall ransom Baiazeth.'

(Robinson and Cunningham read 'that' for *thee*, which can hardly be intentional.)

62. *Moors*] Cf. 2 *Tamburlaine*, I. vi. (2710 f.) :

'an hoste of Moores trainde to the war,
 Whose coleblacke faces make their foes retire.'

63. *As . . . drops*] Compare *Dr. Faustus* (1472 f.) :

'O soule, be chande into little water drops,
 And fal into the Ocean, nere be found.'

And now, to make experience of my love,—
 Fair sister Anna, lead my lover forth, 65
 And, seated on my jennet, let him ride,
 As Dido's husband, through the Punic streets ;
 And will my guard, with Mauritanian darts
 To wait upon him as their sovereign lord.

Anna. What if the citizens repine thereat ? 70

Dido. Those that dislike what Dido gives in charge,
 Command my guard to slay for their offence.
 Shall vulgar peasants storm at what I do ?
 The ground is mine that gives them sustenance,
 The air wherein they breathe, the water, fire, 75
 All that they have, their lands, their goods, their
 lives,

And I, the goddess of all these, command
 Æneas ride as Carthaginian king.

Ach. Æneas, for his parentage, deserves
 As large a kingdom as is Libya. 80

Æn. Ay, and, unless the Destinies be false,
 I shall be planted in as rich a land.

Dido. Speak of no other land ; this land is thine ;
 Dido is thine, henceforth I'll call thee lord.—

Knutowski cites 1 *Tamburlaine*, III.
 i. 8 ff. (926 ff.) :

'As many circumcised Turkes we
 haue . . .
 As hath the Ocean or the Terrene
 sea
 Small drops of water ' ;
 (also *Tamb.*, 1402 f., 2728 f.).

64. *experience*] overt demonstra-
 tion ; cf. *Dr. Faustus* (559) :
 'thinke so still, till *experience*
 change thy minde.'

66-67. *ride . . . streets*] One of
 the many variations of Marlowe's
 day-dream of riding in triumph
 through Persepolis. The only
 parallel that need be quoted is
 perhaps *Edward II* (172 f.) :

'I thinke my selfe as great
 As Caesar riding in the Romaine
 streete.'

A *jennet* (66) was a small Spanish
 horse.

71. *gives in charge*] commands.
 Compare 3 *Henry VI*, IV. i. 32,
 'doing what you gave in charge' ;
 1 *Henry VI*, II. iii. 1, 'remember
 what I gave in charge'. Also 1
Tamburlaine, II. ii. (580), 'giue
 your charge, I say' ; and below,
 v. i. 52.

74-75. *The ground . . . fire*] Grosart asks : 'Were these
 "divine rights" merely Dido's
 passion, or the thoughts of the
 writer ?' The idea that the very
 elements belonged to an absolute
 monarch is doubtless as old as the
 custom of demanding earth and
 water in token of submission, which
 Marlowe would have found in
 Herodotus.

84. *call thee lord*] Possibly an

Do as I bid thee, sister ; lead the way ; 85
And from a turret I'll behold my love.

Æn. Then here in me shall flourish Priam's race ;
And thou and I, Achates, for revenge
For Troy, for Priam, for his fifty sons,
Our kinsmen's lives and thousand guiltless souls, 90
Will lead an host against the hateful Greeks,
And fire proud Lacedæmon o'er their heads.

[*Exeunt all except Dido and Carthaginian Lords.*]

Dido. Speaks not Æneas like a conqueror ?
O blessed tempests that did drive him in !
O happy sand that made him run aground ! 95
Henceforth you shall be our Carthage gods.

90. *lives*] Dyce ; *loues* Q. 92. S. D. *Exeunt . . . Lords*] *Exit Q.*
96. *our*] Q ; 'mong *our* conj. Dyce ; of *our* Bullen.

allusion to Ovid, Bk. III., Elegy vi.
11 : 'she soothd me vp, and calld
me sire.'

85. *Do . . . way*] The Quarto
punctuates : 'Doe as I bid thee,
sister leade the way.'

90. *lives*] Grosart adds a note in
his Introduction (xxiv) : 'Though
preferring *lives*, I now feel disposed
to retain *loves* : for it is sufficiently
good sense if we understand him to
say that he will do this for *love* of
Troy, of Priam, and of his kinsmen
slaughtered, as well as for the sake
of the thousand "guiltless souls."'

92. *fire . . . heads*] Compare the
words of Priam above, II. i. 236,
'my Troy is fir'd'. The spectacle
of a conflagration appealed as much
to Marlowe's fancy as did that of
the conqueror riding in triumph
through the streets. Compare, e.g.,
Massacre at Paris (1254),
'Fire Paris, where these trecherous
rebels lurke !'

ibid. (1212),

'These bloody hands shall . . .
fire accursed Rome about his
eares.

Ile fire his crased buildings and
inforse
The papall towers to kisse the holy
earth' ;

Edward II (393 ff.),

'Proud Rome . . .

Ile fire thy crased buildings, and
enforce

The papall towers to kisse the lowlie
ground' ;

Jew of Malta, v. (2064 ff.),

'I'le be reueng'd on this accursed
Towne . . .

I'le helpe . . . To fire the
Churches, pull their houses
downe' ;

2 *Tamburlaine*, I. i. 18 (2343),

'And means to fire Turkey as he
goes' ;

ibid., III. ii. (3335 ff.),

'let vs march

Towards Techelles and Theridamas,
That we haue sent before to fire the
townes,

The towers and cities of these hate-
full Turks'

(cf. 'hateful Greeks', line 91).

Ibid., III. v. 8-9 (3510 f.),

'Who meanes to gyrt Natolias
walles with siege,
Fire the towne and ouerrun the
land' ;

also III. ii. (3191 ff.).

96. *Henceforth . . . gods*] A nine-
syllable line : 'Henceforth you | ,'

Ay, but it may be, he will leave my love,
 And seek a foreign land call'd Italy :
 O that I had a charm to keep the winds
 Within the closure of a golden ball ; 100
 Or that the Tyrrhene sea were in mine arms,
 That he might suffer shipwrack on my breast,
 As oft as he attempts to hoist up sail !
 I must prevent him ; wishing will not serve.—
 Go bid my nurse take young Ascanius, 105
 And bear him in the country to her house ;
 Æneas will not go without his son ;
 Yet, lest he should, for I am full of fear,
 Bring me his oars, his tackling, and his sails.

[*Exit a Lord.*]

What if I sink his ships ? O, he'll frown ! 110
 Better he frown than I should die for grief.
 I cannot see him frown ; it may not be :
 Armies of foes resolv'd to win this town,
 Or impious traitors vow'd to have my life,

102. *shipwracke*] Q; *shipwreck* Hurst.
 110. *hee*] Q; *he will* Hurst.

109. S. D. *Exit a Lord*] Grosart.

&c. Cunningham alone seems to have appreciated the purpose of the irregularity: 'Marlowe frequently leaves out a syllable in order that extra force may be given to some particular word in the line; and here I think *you* (the *tempests* and *sand*) is intended to be dwelt upon.'

99. *O that . . . winds*] Compare the *silver whistles to control the winds*, which Dido nonchalantly offers the common soldiers in line 10 above.

100. *closure*] circuit. Marlowe does not elsewhere use the word, but Shakespeare has it several times: *Richard III*, iii. 11, 'Within the guilty closure of thy walls.' *Venus and Adonis*, 782, 'Into the quiet closure of my breast'; Sonnet XLVIII. line 11, 'Within the gentle closure of my breast.' Ulysses, *Odyssey*, Bk. x., carried

the winds within the closure of a leathern bag.

101. *Or . . . arms*] Compare *Edward II* (1114 f.):

'O that mine armes could close this
 Ile about,
 That I might pull him to me where
 I would';

Hero and Leander, i. 59,

'Faire Cinthia wisht his armes
 might be her spehare.'

103. *attempts*] Transition to the present tense as the speaker's idea becomes more vivid.

110. *he'll*] The contraction in the Quarto is, I think, right. The pause before *O* counts as a syllable in the scansion and emphasizes the exclamation.

112-116. *I cannot . . . heart*] Knutowski compares the words of

Affright me not ; only Æneas' frown 115
 Is that which terrifies poor Dido's heart :
 Not bloody spears, appearing in the air,
 Presage the downfall of my empery,
 Nor blazing comets threatens Dido's death ;
 It is Æneas' frown that ends my days. 120
 If he forsake me not, I never die ;
 For in his looks I see eternity,
 And he'll make me immortal with a kiss.

Re-enter Lord, with Attendants carrying tackling, etc.

Lord. Your nurse is gone with young Ascanius ;
 And here's Æneas' tackling, oars, and sails. 125

123. S. D. *Enter a Lord*] Q ; with . . . etc. add. Dyce. 124. *Lord*
 omitted in Q.

Lodowick in *Jew of Malta*, II. (1095 ff.) :

'But rather let the brightsome
 heauens be dim,
 And Natures beauty choake with
 stifeling clouds,
 Then my faire Abigal should
 frowne on me.'

Cf. 1 *Tamburlaine*, III. ii. (1076).

'The killing frownes of iealousie
 and loue' ;

and 2 *Henry VI*, v. i. 99 ff.,

'these brows of mine,
 Whose smile and frown, like to
 Achilles' spear,
 Is able with the change to kill and
 cure.'

117-119. *Not . . . death*] A clear
 reminiscence of Lucan ; cf. Mar-
 lowe's translation, 527-530 :

'Commets that presage the fal of
 kingdoms . . .

And sundry fiery meteors blaz'd in
 heauen,

Now, spearlike, long . . . ;

also 1 *Tamburlaine*, III. ii. (1057 ff.) :

'Vpon his browes was pourtraid
 vgly death,
 And in his eies the furie of his hart,
 That shine as Comets, menacing
 reuenge,'

and 2 *Tamburlaine*, v. i. (4199 ff.).
 Comets had appeared in 1577 and
 again in 1580-81, causing much
 discussion and trepidation in Eng-
 land.

123. *And he'll . . . kiss*] The
 original appearance of this famous
 line, repeated in *Dr. Faustus* (1330),

'Sweete Helen, make me immortall
 with a kisse.'

Note how naturally it grows out of,
 and concludes, Dido's speech, and
 how in the later play it is somewhat
 artificially brought in to serve as
 the theme for further elaboration.

124. *Lord*] The omission of the
 speaker's name in the Quarto is
 not to be regarded as a misprint :
 the stage direction preceding was
 taken as sufficiently indicating
 the speaker. In some Elizabethan
 plays—many of Jonson's, for ex-
 ample—the name of the first
 speaker in a scene is regularly
 omitted, it being understood that
 the first speech belongs to the
 character named first in the pre-
 vious stage direction. The practice
 is not common in the printed texts
 of Marlowe's plays, but occurs five
 times in 2 *Tamburlaine* (e.g. opening
 of Act IV, sc. 1).

Dido. Are these the sails that, in despite of me,
 Pack'd with the winds to bear Æneas hence ?
 I'll hang ye in the chamber where I lie ;
 Drive, if you can, my house to Italy :
 I'll set the casement open, that the winds 130
 May enter in, and once again conspire
 Against the life of me, poor Carthage queen :
 But though he go, he stays in Carthage still ;
 And let rich Carthage fleet upon the seas,
 So I may have Æneas in mine arms. 135
 Is this the wood that grew in Carthage plains,
 And would be toiling in the watery billows,
 To rob their mistress of her Trojan guest ?
 O cursed tree, hadst thou but wit or sense,
 To measure how I prize Æneas' love, 140
 Thou wouldst have leapt from out the sailors' hands,
 And told me that Æneas meant to go !
 And yet I blame thee not ; thou art but wood.
 The water, which our poets term a nymph,
 Why did it suffer thee to touch her breast, 145
 And shrunk not back, knowing my love was there ?
 The water is an element, no nymph.
 Why should I blame Æneas for his flight ?
 O Dido, blame not him, but break his oars !

133. *he goe*] Q ; *ye go* Dyce.

127. *Pack'd*] 'Insidiously conspired' (Dyce). Compare *Titus Andronicus*, iv. ii. 155, 'Go pack with him, and give the mother gold'; also *Comedy of Errors*, v. i. 219: 'That goldsmith there, were he not pack'd with her, could witness it'; and *Much Ado about Nothing*, v. i. 312.

133. *he go*] Dyce's emendation, adopted by Cunningham and Bullen, is certainly a corruption of the text. Even though the winds, entering at the open casement, succeed in their conspiracy with the sails to drive Aeneas to Italy, yet he would be staying in Carthage

still, because still in the Queen's palace. The next two lines develop the same idea.

134-135. *And . . . arms*] Compare *Edward II* (343 ff.):

'Ere my sweete Gaueston shall
 part from me,
 This Ile shall fleete vpon the
 Ocean,
 And wander to the vnfrequented
 Inde.'

Fleet, in the sense of 'float', is used ten times by Marlowe.

137. *And . . . billows*] One of the very rare feminine-ending lines in this play.

These were the instruments that launch'd him forth. 150
 There's not so much as this base tackling too,
 But dares to heap up sorrow to my heart :
 Was it not you that hoisted up these sails ?
 Why burst you not, and they fell in the seas ?
 For this will Dido tie ye full of knots. 155
 And shear ye all asunder with her hands :
 Now serve to chastise shipboys for their faults ;
 Ye shall no more offend the Carthage queen.
 Now, let him hang my favours on his masts,
 And see if those will serve instead of sails ; 160
 For tackling, let him take the chains of gold
 Which I bestow'd upon his followers ;
 Instead of oars, let him use his hands,
 And swim to Italy. I'll keep these sure.—
 Come, bear them in. [Exeunt.

SCENE V

Enter the Nurse, with CUPID for ASCANIUS.

Nurse. My Lord Ascanius, ye must go with me.

153. *hoysed*] Q ; *hoisted* Hurst. 165. S. D. *Exeunt*] *Exit* Q.

Scene V.

Scene V] add. Hurst. 1, 12, 19. *ye*] Q ; *you* Dyce.

151–152. *There's . . . dares*] Even this base tackling too dares.

154. *and they fell*] A rather curious construction. Supply *not* from the preceding clause. Modern idiom would require 'Why did you not burst and let them fall.'

159. *favours*] bits of needlework. Compare *Edward II* (989),

'Nodding and shaking of thy spangled crest,
 Where womens *fauors* hung like labels downe.'

165. *Come . . . in*] Compare the close of Act III of *Tamburlaine*,

'Come bring them in,' etc.

Scene V.

Scene V] Dyce and Bullen indi-

cate the scene of action as the country near Carthage, but from line 2 it would appear that Cupid is still at Dido's court. Thus, unless the Lord, in line 124 of the previous scene, announces as already accomplished something for which he has only given instructions, Scene v must precede that passage in sequence of time. Does this indicate divided authorship or revision ?

S. D. *Cupid for Ascanius*] This stage direction is given as the Quarto has it ; *for* means 'in the form of'.

1. *Nurse*] The Nurse, or heroine's companion and duenna, was a stock figure in Italian comedies, and had been elaborately developed as a farcical character in Udall's *Roister*

Cup. Whither must I go? I'll stay with my mother.

Nurse. No, thou shalt go with me unto my house.

I have an orchard that hath store of plums,
Brown almonds, services, ripe figs, and dates, 5
Dewberries, apples, yellow oranges;
A garden where are bee-hives full of honey,
Musk-roses, and a thousand sort of flowers;
And in the midst doth run a silver stream,
Where thou shalt see the red-gill'd fishes leap, 10
White swans, and many lovely water-fowls.

Now speak, Ascanius, will ye go or no?

Cup. Come, come, I'll go. How far hence is your house?

Nurse. But hereby, child; we shall get thither straight.

Cup. Nurse, I am weary; will you carry me? 15

Doister. In Vergil Barce, the nurse of Sychaeus, is mentioned briefly once, at the point at which Dido kills herself (*Aen.*, iv. 632). Caxton's *Eneydos* (E.E.T.S. ed., p. 102) develops the hint into a pleasant foreshadowing of Marlowe's Nurse: 'She [Dido] dyd call presently a goode olde woman that made herself to be called barthe ye whiche long tyme afore, whan she dwelled in thyr [Tyre] was noryce, as it was sayd, of hir late husbonde Sicheus, and kept herself yet alwayes styll wyth the sayd Elysse, as are wont to doo these auntyent good ladyes wyth theire firste mastresses.' Juliet's nurse is, of course, the most famous example of the type.

2. *mother*] Dido, of course; cf. III. i. 24 above, and also Ascanius' remark, II. i. 96.

4-12. *I have . . . no*] 'The pretty scene, where the old nurse tempts away Cupid . . . by a playfully exaggerated description of the delights of her orchard and flower-garden, must have come from the same hand—the hand that wrote the song of the Passionate Shepherd to his Love' (Bullen, Introduction, xlviii). Knutowski accepts this dictum, though remarking that

in Marlowe's dramas there is no passage which can be compared with this. Crawford (*Collectanea*, I. 6) compares the similar lines in Richard Barnfield's *Affectionate Shepherd*, 1594:

'Then would I lead thee to my
pleasant bower
Fill'd full of grapes, of mulberries,
and cherries;
Then shouldst thou be my wasp or
else my bee.

.
Or if thou dar'st to climb the
highest trees
For apples, cherries, medlars,
pears, or plums,
Nuts, walnuts, filberts, chestnuts,
services,
The hoary peach, when snowy
winter comes;
I have fine orchards full of mel-
lowed fruit.'

Crawford believes that Marlowe wrote a long poem, now lost, in elaboration of his song of the passionate shepherd, from which Barnfield cribbed, and that he introduced passages from this poem into *Dido*—notably in the present scene.

5. *services*] 'The service tree is the *Pyrus domestica*, the common

Nurse. Ay, so you'll dwell with me, and call me mother.

Cup. So you'll love me, I care not if I do.

Nurse. That I might live to see this boy a man !

How prettily he laughs ! Go, ye wag !

You'll be a twigger when you come to age.— 20

Say Dido what she will, I am not old ;

I'll be no more a widow ; I am young ;

I'll have a husband, or else a lover.

Cup. A husband, and no teeth !

Nurse. O, what mean I to have such foolish thoughts ! 25

Foolish is love, a toy.—O sacred love !

If there be any heaven in earth, 'tis love,

Especially in women of your years.—

Blush, blush for shame ! why shouldst thou think of love ?

A grave, and not a lover, fits thy age.— 30

A grave ! why, I may live a hundred years ;

Fourscore is but a girl's age : love is sweet.—

20. *twigger*] Q ; *trigger* conj. Collier. 28–30. *Especially . . . age*] spoken by Cupid, conj. Collier. 28. *your*] Q ; *our* conj. Deighton.

pear being *Pyrus communis*. Johnson quotes Peacham, "October is drawn in a garment of yellow and carnation ; in his left hand a basket of *services*, medlars, and other fruit that ripen late " (Cunningham).

19. *How . . . wag*] The pause after *laughs* counts as a syllable, and was evidently taken up with stage business. Grosart inserts the direction, 'He toys with her'.

20. *twigger*] Cunningham quotes *Pasquil's Night Cap*, 1612 :

'Now, Benedicite, her mother said,
And hast thou been already such
a twigger.'

The *O.E.D.* defines *twigger* as 'a vigorous, prolific breeder ; originally said of a ewe', and connects it with the verb *twig*², to do anything strongly, citing Tusser's *500 Points of Good Husbandry* (1573), ch. 32,

st. 28 (ed. 1878, p. 81): 'For twinlings [twin sheep] be *twiggers*, encrease for to bring.'

23. *I'll . . . lover*] Scan either by rolling *husband* out into three syllables, or by inserting a syllabic pause after that word so that the remainder of the line shall seem an afterthought.

24. *A . . . teeth !*] Trimeter line.

25–34. *O . . . die*] Note how the *Nurse's* mind chops about from one extreme to the other, and compare Dido's speeches, III. i. 41–44, 168 ff. and many others. Evidently the author had little skill in feminine psychology. Professor Case suggests that Cupid 'sportively exerts and relaxes his influence on the woman alternately'.

28. *your*] used, of course, in the well-known 'ethical' sense : women of a certain age.

My veins are wither'd, and my sinews dry :
Why do I think of love, now I should die ?

Cup. Come, nurse.

35

Nurse. Well, if he come a-wooing, he shall speed :

O, how unwise was I to say him nay ! [*Exeunt.*

36. *he*] some (imaginary ?) suitor.

ACT V

SCENE I

Enter ÆNEAS, with a paper in his hand, drawing the platform of the city ; with him ACHATES, SERGESTUS, CLOANTHUS, and ILIONEUS.

Æn. Triumph, my mates ! our travels are at end :
 Here will Æneas build a statelier Troy
 Than that which grim Atrides overthrew.
 Carthage shall vaunt her petty walls no more ;
 For I will grace them with a fairer frame, 5
 And clad her in a crystal livery,
 Wherein the day may evermore delight.

Act V.

Scene I] add. Hurst. S. D. *Sergestus]* add. Dyce ; otherwise as in Q.

Scene I.

S. D. *platform]* plan, as in line 94 below.

1-23. *Triumph . . . name]*

Elaborated from a single line in *Æn.*, iv. 260, where Mercury, on reaching Carthage with Jove's message, sees

'Aenean fundantem arces ac tecta novantem.'

3. *Atrides]* Agamemnon, as in ii. i. 129 above. In the Ovid translation, ii. xii. 10, it is used as a plural, Agamemnon and Menelaus :

'When Troy by ten yeares battle tumbled downe,

With the Atrides many gainde renowne.'

4. *vaunt]* Cf. i. i. 151 above, and

Massacre at Paris (728), 'When I shall *vaunt* as victor in reuenge' (also prologue to *Dr. Faustus*, line 6, where the reading is in dispute). The meaning here is, 'Carthage shall hereafter have better walls to boast of.'

5. *frame]* structure ; the ordinary meaning in Marlowe. Compare line 302 below.

6. *And . . . livery]* Crawford compares the nearly identical line in 2 *Tamburlaine*, i. iv. 4 (2573), 'And cloath it in a christall liuerie.' The setting of the line is much more appropriate and natural here : Carthage is to be clad in a garment (encompassing wall) of crystal rocks.'

From golden India Ganges will I fetch,
 Whose wealthy streams may wait upon her towers,
 And triple-wise entrench her round about ; 10
 The sun from Egypt shall rich odours bring,
 Wherewith his burning beams (like labouring bees
 That load their thighs with Hybla's honey's spoils)
 Shall here unburden their exhaled sweets,
 And plant our pleasant suburbs with her fumes. 15

Ach. What length or breadth shall this brave town
 contain ?

Æn. Not past four thousand paces at the most.

Ili. But what shall it be call'd ? Troy, as before ?

Æn. That have I not determin'd with myself.

Clo. Let it be term'd *Ænea*, by your name. 20

Serg. Rather *Ascania*, by your little son.

Æn. Nay, I will have it called *Anchisæon*,
 Of my old father's name.

Enter HERMES with ASCANIUS.

Her. *Æneas*, stay ; Jove's herald bids thee stay.

13. *honeys spoyles*] *Q* ; *honey-spoils* Hurst. 15. *her fumes*] *Q* ; *their fumes* Dyce ; *perfumes* conj. Elze.

8-10. *From . . . about*] For the idea compare *Dr. Faustus* (116 f.), 'wall all Iermany with brasse, And make swift Rhine circle faire Wertemberge.'

8. *golden India*] Compare above, III. i. 91-92, 'more wealth Than twenty thousand Indias can afford.' *Ganges* is mentioned in *1 Tamburlaine*, v. ii. (2303). Ordinarily Marlowe seems to have thought rather of the American Indies as the source of gold ; cf. *Massacre at Paris* (859 ff.), 'Philip King of Spaine . . . will cause his Indians To rip the golden bowels of America' ; *Dr. Faustus* (160 f.), 'from America the golden fleece, That yearly stuffes olde Philips treasury.'

13. *Hybla's honey's spoils*] The spoils of Hybla's honey. This, the Quarto reading, seems to me more

Elizabethan than the compound term *honey-spoils*.

14. *exhaled*] emitted as vapour.

15. *her fumes*] Egyptian odours (cf. line 11). *Hero and Leander*, II. 116, has 'dull earthlie fumes'. Emendation seems unnecessary.

20. *by*] with reference to.

22-23. *Nay . . . name*] This passage, invented by the author of the play, was probably put in to illustrate the *piety* of Aeneas. Lines 16-17 above rather suggest Tamburlaine's lecture to his sons on the art of fortification, *2 Tamb.*, III. ii. (3252 ff.).

23. *S. D. with Ascanius*] The employment of Hermes to restore Ascanius is not in Vergil.

24-26. *Aeneas . . . town*] This jaunty exchange of greetings is quite original. The divine messenger terrifies Vergil's Aeneas (IV. 279-280) :

- Æn.* Whom do I see? Jove's winged messenger! 25
Welcome to Carthage' new-erected town.
- Her.* Why, cousin, stand you building cities here,
And beautifying the empire of this queen,
While Italy is clean out of thy mind?
Too-too forgetful of thine own affairs, 30
Why wilt thou so betray thy son's good hap?
The king of gods sent me from highest heaven,
To sound this angry message in thine ears:
Vain man, what monarchy expect'st thou here?
Or with what thought sleep'st thou in Libya shore? 35
If that all glory hath forsaken thee,
And thou despise the praise of such attempts,
Yet think upon Ascanius' prophecy,
And young Iulus' more than thousand years,

35. *in Libia shoare*] Q; *on Lybia's shore* Hurst.

'At vero Aeneas aspectu obmutuit
amens,
Arrectaeque horrore comae, et vox
faucibus haesit.'

25. *Jove's winged messenger*
Knutowski noted that the same
epithet of Hermes is employed in
2 *Tamburlaine*, I. vi. (2735),

'That Ioue shall send his winged
Messenger
To bid me sheath my sword.'

27-39. *Why . . . years*] Closely
rendered, but in altered sequence,
from *Aen.*, IV. 265-276.

27-30. *Why . . . affairs*] *Aen.*,
IV. 265-267:

'Tu nunc Carthaginis altae
Fundamenta locas, pulchramque
uxorius urbem
Exstruis, heu regni rerumque oblite
tuarum?'

31, 36-39. *Why . . . hap: If
. . . years*] *Aen.*, IV. 272-276:

'Si te nulla movet tantarum gloria
rerum,
Nec super ipse tua moliris laude
laborem,
Ascanium surgentem et spes here-
dis Iuli

Respice, cui regnum Italiae
Romanaque tellus
Debentur.'

32-33. *The king . . . ears*] *Aen.*,
IV. 268-270:

'Ipse deum tibi me claro demittit
Olympo
Regnator, caelum et terras qui
numine torquet;
Ipse haec ferre iubet celeres
mandata per auras.'

(Is it possible that Marlowe read the
last word as *aurēs*?)

34-35. *Vain . . . shore*] *Aen.*,
IV. 271:

'Quid struis? aut qua spe Libycis
teris otia terris?'

(Is the imperfect alliteration in
sleep'st . . . shore intended to re-
produce the effect of Vergil's jingle,
'teris . . . terris'?)

38-39. *Yet . . . years*] McKerrow
thinks these lines 'perhaps cor-
rupt'; but they appear intelligible
enough. *Ascanius' prophecy* is the
prophecy relating to Ascanius or
Iulus, which Jupiter makes in *Aen.*,
I. 267 ff., and which the English

Whom I have brought from Ida, where he slept, 40
And bore young Cupid unto Cyprus isle.

Æn. This was my mother that beguil'd the queen,
And made me take my brother for my son :
No marvel, Dido, though thou be in love,
That daily dandlest Cupid in thy arms.— 45
Welcome, sweet child : where hast thou been this
long ?

Asc. Eating sweet comfits with Queen Dido's maid.
Who ever since hath lull'd me in her arms.

Æn. Sergestus, bear him hence unto our ships,
Lest Dido, spying him, keep him for a pledge. 50
[*Exit Sergestus with Ascanius.*]

Her. Spend'st thou thy time about this little boy,
And giv'st not ear unto the charge I bring ?
I tell thee, thou must straight to Italy,
Or else abide the wrath of frowning Jove. [*Exit.*]

Æn. How should I put into the raging deep, 55
Who have no sails nor tackling for my ships ?
What, would the gods have me, Deucalion-like,

45. *dandlest*] *danlest* Q. 50. *spying him*] Q; *spying* Hurst. 50.
S. D. *Exit . . . Ascanius*] add. Dyce. 54. S. D. *Exit*] add. Dyce.

poet has combined with the passage
in *Aen.*, iv. Jupiter, indeed, pro-
mises unlimited rule to the heirs of
Iulus, *Aen.*, i. 278 f.,

'His ego nec metas rerum nec
tempora pono,
Imperium sine fine dedi';

but for Marlowe a *thousand years*
was as inevitable as a thousand
ships.

40. *Whom . . . slept*] From this
point to the end of line 86 there is no
perceptible Vergilian influence.

41. *Cyprus isle*] The poet evi-
dently puts the Mt. Ida sacred to
Venus upon the island of Cyprus.
It was the Ida near Troy, not
Cretan Ida, with which the goddess
was associated. Cyprus, which was,
of course, a shrine of Venus, had no

Ida. Compare III. ii. 99 and note.

47-48. *Eating . . . arms*] Com-
pare above, II. i. 313-315.

49. *Sergestus*] This is the justi-
fication for the addition of the name
of Sergestus in the stage direction
at the opening of the Act.

50. *spying*] Pronounce 'spy'ng'
in one syllable.

57. *Deucalion-like*] Deucalion,
son of Prometheus, was the Greek
Noah; his story is told by Ovid,
Met., I. 260-416 and alluded to in
the *Elegies*, II. xiv. (Marlowe's
translation, lines 111-12). Compare
Marlowe's *Lucan*, 652 f.,

'Gaynimeade would renew Deu-
calions flood,
And in the fleeting sea the earth be
drencht';

Float up and down where'er the billows drive ?
 Though she repair'd my fleet and gave me ships,
 Yet hath she ta'en away my oars and masts, 60
 And left me neither sail nor stern aboard.

Enter to them IARBAS.

Iar. How now, Æneas ! sad ! what means these dumps ?

Æn. Iarbas, I am clean besides myself ;
 Jove hath heap'd on me such a desperate charge,
 Which neither art nor reason may achieve, 65
 Nor I devise by what means to contrive.

Iar. As how, I pray ? may I entreat you tell ?

Æn. With speed he bids me sail to Italy,
 Whenas I want both rigging for my fleet,
 And also furniture for these my men. 70

Iar. If that be all, then cheer thy drooping looks,
 For I will furnish thee with such supplies.
 Let some of those thy followers go with me,
 And they shall have what thing soe'er thou need'st.

Æn. Thanks, good Iarbas, for thy friendly aid : 75
 Achates and the rest shall wait on thee,
 Whilst I rest thankful for this courtesy.

[Exeunt Iarbas and Æneas' train.]

Now will I haste unto Lavinian shore,
 And raise a new foundation to old Troy.

63. *besides*] Q ; *beside* Hurst. 77. S. D. *Exeunt*] *Exit* Q.

2 *Tamburlaine*, I. vi. (2732 f.), 'the stones, as at Deucalions flood, Were turnde to men.'

61. *stern*] rudder. Compare III. i. 108, *ante*.

62-77. *How . . . courtesy*] 'The provision by Iarbas of rigging, &c., for the voyage is, of course, an invention of the dramatists necessitated by their addition in IV. iv., where Dido destroys the tackling' (McKerrow).

63. *clean besides myself*] For *clean* as an adverb see above, III. i. 75,

and line 29 of the present scene. *Beside* and *besides* were not differentiated in Elizabethan usage ; cf. *Twelfth Night*, IV. ii. 92, 'how fell you *besides* your five wits ?' *Comedy of Errors*, III. ii. 78, 'I am an ass . . . and *besides* myself.'

65. *Which*] Modern usage requires 'as' after *such*.

70. *furniture*] Military equipment, as in 1 *Tamburlaine*, IV. i. (1427),

'As red as scarlet is his furniture.'

Witness the gods, and witness heaven and earth, 80
 How loath I am to leave these Libyan bounds,
 But that eternal Jupiter commands !

Enter Dido.

Dido. I fear I saw Æneas' little son
 Led by Achates to the Trojan fleet.
 If it be so, his father means to fly :— 85
 But here he is ; now, Dido, try thy wit.— [*Aside.*
 Æneas, wherefore go thy men aboard ?
 Why are thy ships new-rigg'd ? or to what end,
 Launch'd from the haven, lie they in the road ?
 Pardon me, though I ask ; love makes me ask. 90
Æn. O, pardon me, if I resolve thee why !
 Æneas will not feign with his dear love.

82. S. D. *Enter Dido*] *Enter Dido and Aeneas* Q (Robinson and Cunningham begin Scene II here). 84. *Achates*] Q ; *Sergestus* conj. Dyce.
 86. S. D. *Aside*] add. Dyce. S. D. *Enter Aeneas*] add. Hurst. 89.
road] Hurst ; *Rhode* Q.

80–81. *Witness . . . I am*] Compare *Edward II* (460–463) :

'Witnesse the teares . . .
 Witnesse this hart . . .
 And witnesse heauen how deere
 thou art to me.'

82. S. D. *Enter Dido*] Probably no new scene was intended by the author, though the Quarto direction is confusing, inasmuch as Aeneas is already on the stage. Some time, of course, must be supposed to have passed since Iarbas and the followers of Aeneas went out to provide rigging, &c. (see Dido's words, 87–89), but I think this was assumed to pass during the course of Aeneas' five-line soliloquy (78–82) without his leaving the stage. Compare *Edward II* (291–295), where a five-line speech seems again to be inserted to cover a considerable lapse of time. Aeneas may have left the stage at the end of 82 and reappeared three lines later, but without a curtain that could be rapidly dropped this

would appear more absurd than for Dido to speak the three lines before she recognized his presence.

84. *Achates*] This is probably wrong, for Sergestus had orders to take Ascanius to the ships (49), and Achates would seem to have had other business (76). The confusion is not due, as sometimes happens, to the fact that the rôles of Sergestus and Achates were doubled, for they both appear, and speak to each other, in II. i. 49 ff. I think the author wrote *Achates* here inadvertently, for Sergestus, perhaps because he remembered that in *Aen.*, I. 644 it was Achates whom Aeneas sent to the ships to fetch Ascanius. It is not likely to be a printer's error, and its presumed appearance in the manuscript is pretty good evidence that the play had not been many times acted.

87–89. Possibly reminiscent of *Aen.*, IV. 298–99 ; cf. note on IV. iv. 2.

I must from hence : this day, swift Mercury,
 When I was laying a platform for these walls,
 Sent from his father Jove, appear'd to me, 95
 And in his name rebuk'd me bitterly
 For lingering here, neglecting Italy.

Dido. But yet Æneas will not leave his love.

Æn. I am commanded by immortal Jove
 To leave this town and pass to Italy ; 100
 And therefore must of force.

Dido. These words proceed not from Æneas' heart.

Æn. Not from my heart, for I can hardly go ;
 And yet I may not stay. Dido, farewell.

Dido. Farewell ! is this the mends for Dido's love ? 105
 Do Trojans use to quit their lovers thus ?
 Fare well may Dido, so Æneas stay ;
 I die, if my Æneas say farewell.

Æn. Then let me go, and never say farewell :

Dido. ' Let me go ; farewell ; I must from hence.' 110
 These words are poison to poor Dido's soul :
 O, speak like my Æneas, like my love !
 Why look'st thou toward the sea ? the time hath been
 When Dido's beauty chain'd thine eyes to her.

105. *mends*] Q ; 'mends Dyce. 110. *Dido*] Speaker's name precedes
 line 111 in Q ; altered by McKerrow. *Let*] Q ; *O let* Grosart. *goe*] Q ;
go is Cunningham ; *forgo* conj. Deighton. *farewell*] Q ; *farewell none*
 Dyce ; *farewell or none* conj. Grosart. 114. *chain'd*] Robinson ; *chaungd*
 Q. *eyes*] Q ; *eye* Hurst.

101. *of force*] Cf. above, II. i. 272.
 Also 1 *Tamburlaine*, v. ii. (2263),
 ' to whom all kings Of force must
 yeeld their crownes ' ; Ovid, II.
 xvii. 6, ' Since some faire one I
 should of force obey.'

105. *mends*] amends, requital.

107. *Fare well*] A pun.

110. *Let . . . hence*] ' I feel al-
 most certain that this line should
 form part of Dido's speech, and
 that we should read, with modern
 punctuation :

" *Dido.* ' Let me go ! ' ' Farewell ! '
 ' I must from hence ! '

These words are poison to poor
 Dido's soul."

All these expressions are quoted
 from Aeneas' speeches just above ;
 see lines 109, 104, 93. Cf. the
 similar repetition in line 105 <and
 124>' (McKerrow). This seems to
 me certain. The line is a good
 nine-syllable verse.

114. *chain'd*] All the editors ex-
 cept the first (Hurst) have adopted
 this. I am not sure that *charmed*
 would not make as good sense, and
 it would be closer in appearance to
 the Quarto *chaungd*. *Chain* is used
 rather similarly in III. ii. 80, above.

Am I less fair than when thou saw'st me first ? 115

O, then, Æneas, 'tis for grief of thee !

Say thou wilt stay in Carthage with thy queen,

And Dido's beauty will return again.

Æneas, say, how canst thou take thy leave ?

Wilt thou kiss Dido ? O, thy lips have sworn 120

To stay with Dido ! canst thou take her hand ?

Thy hand and mine have plighted mutual faith ;

Therefore, unkind Æneas, must thou say,

' Then let me go, and never say farewell ' ?

Æn. O queen of Carthage, wert thou ugly-black, 125

Æneas could not choose but hold thee dear !

Yet must he not gainsay the gods' behest.

Dido. The gods ! what gods be those that seek my death ?

Wherein have I offended Jupiter,

That he should take Æneas from mine arms ? 130

O, no ! the gods weigh not what lovers do :

It is Æneas calls Æneas hence ;

And woful Dido, by these blubber'd cheeks,

By this right hand, and by our spousal rites,

Desires Æneas to remain with her ; 135

Si bene quid de te merui, fuit aut tibi quidquam

Dulce meum, miserere domus labentis, et istam,

Oro, si quis adhuc precibus locus, exue mentem.

117. *thy*] Hurst ; *my* Q. 138. *adhuc*] Hurst ; *adhæc* Q.

117. *thy queen*] All editors have made this necessary change from the Quarto. Grosart remarks, ' but *my* yields a good sense,' without further explanation.

131. *the gods . . . do*] Probably an allusion, like *Romeo and Juliet*, II. ii. 92, to Ovid, *Ars Amatoria*, I. 631, ' Jupiter ex alto periuria ridet amantum.' The same idea is in the *Elegies*, III. iii. (lines 35-36 of Marlowe's translation). Greene's *Alcida* (ed. Grosart, IX. 80) has ' Jupiter laught at the periurie of lovers.'

133. *blubber'd cheeks*] The phrase is used of the Virgins of Damascus in I *Tamburlaine*, v. i. 21 (1802).

133-134. *And . . . rites*] *Aen.*, IV. 314 ff. :

' Mene fugis ? per ego has lacrimas
dextramque tuam te . . .
Per conubia nostra, per inceptos
hymenæos—'

The beautiful passage continues with the three lines quoted in the original Latin, 136-138 (*Aen.*, IV. 317-319).

Æn. Desine meque tuis incendere teque querelis ;

Italiam non sponte sequor.

140

Dido. Hast thou forgot how many neighbour kings

Were up in arms, for making thee my love ?

How Carthage did rebel, Iarbas storm,

And all the world calls me a second Helen,

For being entangled by a stranger's looks ?

145

So thou wouldst prove as true as Paris did,

Would, as fair Troy was, Carthage might be sack'd,

And I be call'd a second Helena !

Had I a son by thee, the grief were less,

That I might see Æneas in his face :

150

Nor if thou go'st, what canst thou leave behind

But rather will augment than ease my woe ?

Æn. In vain, my love, thou spend'st thy fainting breath :

If words might move me, I were overcome.

Dido. And wilt thou not be mov'd with Dido's words ? 155

Thy mother was no goddess, perjur'd man,

144. *calles*] *Q* ; *call'd* Hurst.

139-140. *Desine . . . sequor*] Precisely as in *Aen.*, iv. 360-361.

141-143. *Hast . . . storm*] A vague summary of *Aen.*, iv. 320 ff. :

'Te propter Libycae gentes Nomadumque tyranni

Odere, infensi Tyrii . . .

Quid moror ? an mea Pygmalion dum moenia frater

Destruat, aut captam ducat Gaetulus Iarbas ?'

144-148. *And all . . . Helena*] Pure Marlowe, though suggested by *Aen.*, iv. 321-323 :

'te propter eundem
Exstinctus pudor, et, qua sola sidera adibam,
Fama prior.'

Vergil's Dido doesn't mention Helen, nor has she anything even remotely like the two lines, 146-147, which anticipate *Dr. Faustus* (1335 f.) :

'I will be Paris, and for loue of thee,
Insteede of Troy shal Wertenberge be sackt.'

Note again how Dido's lines fit more

naturally into the context of the speech than Faustus's (cf. note on iv. iv. 123, above).

149-150. *Had . . . face*] *Aen.*, iv. 327-330 :

'Saltem si qua mihi de te suscepta fuisset

Ante fugam suboles, si quis mihi parvulus aula

Luderet Aeneas, qui te tamen ore referret,

Non equidem omnino capta ac deserta viderer.'

153-154. *In vain . . . overcome*] Instead of this Vergil gives Aeneas a long and famous reply, *Aen.*, iv. 333-361, of which the last lines have been introduced untranslated in 139-140 above.

156-159. *Thy mother . . . suck*] A magnificent translation of *Aen.*, iv. 305-367 :

'Nec tibi diva parens, generis nec Dardanau auctor,

Perfide ; sed duris genuit te cautibus horrens

Nor Dardanus the author of thy stock ;
 But thou art sprung from Scythian Caucasus,
 And tigers of Hyrcania gave thee suck.—
 Ah, foolish Dido, to forbear this long !— 160
 Wast thou not wrack'd upon this Libyan shore,
 And cam'st to Dido like a fisher swain ?
 Repair'd not I thy ships, made thee a king,
 And all thy needy followers noblemen ?
 O serpent, that came creeping from the shore, 16
 And I for pity harbour'd in my bosom,
 Wilt thou now slay me with thy venom'd sting,
 And hiss at Dido for preserving thee ?
 Go, go, and spare not ; seek out Italy :
 I hope that that which love forbids me do, 170
 The rocks and sea-gulfs will perform at large,

160. *this*] Q; *thus* Robinson.
 171. *Sea-gulfs*] Q; *sea-gulls* Hurst.

161. *wrackt*] Q; *wreck'd* Hurst.

Caucasus, Hyrcanaeque admorunt
 ubera tiges.'

Compare *Edward II* (2057), 'Inhumaine creatures, nurst with Tigers milke'; *True Tragedy* (3 *Henry VI*, I. iv. 154 f.),

'But you are more inhumaine,
 more inexorable,

O ten times more then Tygers of
 Hyrcania.'

(*Arcadia* 'in ed. 1595.)

Crawford cites *Selimus*, 1237 f.,

'But thou wast born in desert
 Caucasus,

And the Hyrcanian tigers gave
 thee suck,'

which may be an imitation of the lines in *Dido*. Reminiscence of the Vergilian original was naturally common, as in *Gorboduc*, IV. i. 72, *Faerie Queene*, IV. vii. 7, Fairfax's *Tasso*, IV. 77. For further instances see Moore Smith, *Pedantius* (note on line 862).

157. *stock*] race. Compare Caxton's *Eneydos* (E.E.T.S. ed., p. 11), 'the ryght puyssaunt & renommed kyng Pryamus, sone of laomedon, descended of thauncyen stocke of Dardanus.'

160. *this long*] As in line 46 above; cf. *Venus and Adonis*, 205; *Pericles*, Act II, Prologue, 40, 'this long's the text' (where, however, the construction is disputed). *This* is an old instrumental case, not an error for *thus*.

161-164. *Wast . . . noblemen*] Based on *Aen.*, IV. 373-375:

'Eiectum litore, egentem
 Excepi, et regni demens in parte
 locavi;
 Amissam classem, socios a morte
 reduxi.'

165-168. *O serpent . . . thee*] Not in Vergil.

169-173. *Go . . . revenge*] *Aen.*, IV. 381-384:

'I, sequere Italiam, ventis pete
 regna per undas.
 Spero equidem mediis, si quid pia
 numina possunt,
 Supplicia hausurum scopulis, et
 nomine Dido
 Saepe vocaturum.'

171. *sea-gulfs*] Hurst, Robinson, and Cunningham print amusingly *sea-gulls*.

And thou shalt perish in the billows' ways,
 To whom poor Dido doth bequeath revenge.
 Ay, traitor! and the waves shall cast thee up,
 Where thou and false Achates first set foot; 175
 Which if it chance, I'll give ye burial,
 And weep upon your lifeless carcasses,
 Though thou nor he will pity me a whit.
 Why star'st thou in my face? If thou wilt stay,
 Leap in mine arms; mine arms are open wide; 180
 If not, turn from me, and I'll turn from thee;
 For though thou hast the heart to say farewell,
 I have not power to stay thee. [*Exit Æneas.*]

Is he gone?

Ay, but he'll come again; he cannot go;
 He loves me too-too well to serve me so: 185
 Yet he that in my sight would not relent
 Will, being absent, be obdurate still.
 By this is he got to the water-side;
 And, see, the sailors take him by the hand;
 But he shrinks back; and now, remembering me, 190
 Returns amain: welcome, welcome, my love!
 But where's Æneas? ah, he's gone, he's gone!

Enter ANNA.

Anna. What means my sister, thus to rave and cry?

Dido. O Anna, my Æneas is aboard,

177. *lifeless*] Hurst; *liveless* Q. 183. S. D. add. Hurst. 187.
obdurate] *abdurate* Q. 192. S. D. *Enter Anna*] add. Hurst.

174-192. *Ay, traitor . . . gone*!] Original with the English poet; evidently a conscious effort at tragic emotion.

175. *Where . . . foot*] The sentimental appropriateness of the spot is increased by remembering that the dramatists have assumed it to be also in the neighbourhood of Dido's cave; cf. above, III. iii. 50 ff.

177. *lifeless*] The Quarto spelling gives the pronunciation: *liveless*.

189-191. *And, see . . . love*]

'Here, as before, Dido sees in fancy what does not occur' (Grosart).

190. *But . . . me*] 'This line—its clauses transposed—occurs again, line 260—another mark of haste, albeit the Elizabethan dramatists did not mind repetitions' (Grosart).

194. *O Anna . . . aboard*] Cf. *Aen.*, IV. 416-418:

'Anna, vides toto properari litore: circum

And, leaving me, will sail to Italy ! 195
 Once didst thou go, and he came back again :
 Now bring him back, and thou shalt be a queen,
 And I will live a private life with him.

Anna. Wicked Æneas !

Dido. Call him not wicked, sister : speak him fair, 200
 And look upon him with a mermaid's eye ;
 Tell him, I never vow'd at Aulis' gulf
 The desolation of his native Troy,
 Nor sent a thousand ships unto the walls,
 Nor ever violated faith to him. 205
 Request him gently, Anna, to return :
 I crave but this,—he stay a tide or two,
 That I may learn to bear it patiently ;
 If he depart thus suddenly, I die.

Run, Anna, run ; stay not to answer me. 210

Anna. I go, fair sister : heavens grant good success !

[*Exit Anna.*]

Enter the Nurse.

Nurse. O Dido, your little son Ascanius
 Is gone ! he lay with me last night,
 And in the morning he was stoln from me :

Undique convenere ; vocat iam
 carbasus auras,
 Puppibus et laeti nautae inposuere
 coronas.'

Vergil has nothing like lines 196–198.

200–201. *Call . . . eye*] *Aen.*, IV. 423 :

'Sola viri molles aditus et tempora
 noras.'

Mermaids are mentioned in III. i. 129, above, and *Hero and Leander*, II. 162, 315.

202–204. *I never . . . walls*] *Aen.*, IV. 425 f. :

'Non ego cum Danaïs Troianam
 excindere gentem

Aulide iuravi, classemve ad Pergama misi.'

Classem becomes inevitably a thousand ships in Marlowe. McKerrow points out that Phaer's Vergil omits the mention of Aulis.

206. *Request . . . return*] *Aen.*, IV. 424 :

'I, soror, atque hostem supplex
 adfare superbum.'

207–208. *I crave . . . patiently*] *Aen.*, IV. 433 f. :

'Tempus inane peto, requiem
 spatiumque furori,
 Dum mea me victam doceat
 fortuna dolere.'

212–271. *O Dido . . . straight*] 'Not represented in Vergil' (McKerrow).

212–213. *O Dido . . . night*] This division of lines, found in the

I think, some fairies have beguiled me. 215

Dido. O cursed hag and false dissembling wretch,
That slay'st me with thy harsh and hellish tale !
Thou for some petty gift hast let him go,
And I am thus deluded of my boy.—
Away with her to prison presently, 220

Enter Attendants.

Trait'ress to kind and cursed sorceress !

Nurse. I know not what you mean by treason, I ;

I am as true as any one of yours.

Dido. Away with her ! suffer her not to speak.

[Exeunt the Nurse and Attendants.]

My sister comes : I like not her sad looks. 225

Enter ANNA.

Anna. Before I came, Æneas was aboard,
And, spying me, hoist up the sails amain ;
But I cried out, ' Æneas, false Æneas, stay ! '
Then gan he wag his hand, which, yet held up,
Made me suppose he would have heard me speak. 230

220. S. D. *Enter Attendants*] add. Dyce. 221. *to kind*] conj. Collier ;
too keend Q ; *too kenn'd* conj. Dyce, Cunningham. 224. S. D. *Exeunt* . . .
Attendants] *Exeunt the Nurse* Q. (following line 223). 227. *hoist*] Q ;
hois'd Dyce.

Quarto and all subsequent editions, makes the first verse irregular and the second a tetrameter. There is a temptation to set *O Dido* by itself as extra-metrical and regard *your . . . gone* as a complete line, followed by a trimeter.

215. *fairies*] There is no other mention of fairies in Marlowe, and no mention of elves except in the Ovid translation, i. xiii. 31,

' Memnon the elfe
Receiu'd his cole-black colour from
thy selfe.'

221. *to kind*] to nature ; i.e. unnatural creature. This emendation makes such obvious sense, and the

Quarto *too keend* is so hard to explain plausibly in any other manner, that editors would probably have made little difficulty about accepting it except for the principle of the preferability of the 'difficilior lectio' : why should so simple a word as *kind* be lengthened into the strange form *keend* ?

223. *yours*] your servants.

227. *hoist*] It is impossible to say whether this is meant for 'hois'd' or 'hoisted' ; cf. iv. iv. 15, 103, and 153.

228. *But . . . stay*] The hexameter gives effect to Anna's cry.

234. *heart*] All the editors read *heart's* (i.e. heart is), without

Then gan they drive into the ocean :
 Which when I view'd, I cried, ' Æneas, stay !
 Dido, fair Dido, wills Æneas stay !'
 Yet he, whose heart of adamant or flint
 My tears nor complaints could mollify a whit— 235
 Then carelessly I rent my hair for grief :
 Which seen to all, though he beheld me not,
 They gan to move him to redress my ruth,
 And stay a while to hear what I could say ;
 But he, clapp'd under hatches, sail'd away. 240

Dido. O Anna, Anna, I will follow him !
Anna. How can ye go, when he hath all your fleet ?
Dido. I'll frame me wings of wax, like Icarus,
 And, o'er his ships, will soar unto the sun,
 That they may melt, and I fall in his arms ; 245
 Or else I'll make a prayer unto the waves,
 That I may swim to him, like Triton's niece.
 O Anna, fetch Arion's harp

234. *heart*] Q ; *heart's* Hurst. 244. *ships*] Q ; *ship* Hurst. 248. *Anna*] Q ; *Anna, Anna* conj. Dyce, Cunningham. *Arion's*] Dyce ; *Orions* Q.

apparently observing that this completion of the subordinate clause is achieved at the cost of construing *he* in the principal clause as an objective. Professor Brereton surmises : ' The printer took it (*hearts*) for a plural and, naturally thinking it was nonsense, made it so by omitting the s.' McKerrow says : ' I adopt this emendation (*heart's*) as it gives some sort of sense, but it seems far more probable that a line—signifying that Æneas turned his back upon Anna or went below—has dropped out after 235, the subject of the verb being *he* in l. 234. The word *whit* is followed by a colon in Q, but the punctuation of this text counts for little.' I think Hurst's emendation certainly wrong. A line may possibly have dropped out, but there is no great difficulty in understanding the text as it stands in the Quarto as an example of

anacoluthon or elipsis. Either Anna breaks off her sentence purposely after *whit*, leaving the obvious sequel of Æneas' indifference to be guessed, or else in her emotion she loses track of the logical relation of her words. For other examples of anacoluthon see note on II. i. 201, above.

243. *like Icarus*] See Ovid, *Met.*, VIII. 183 ff. The story is alluded to again in *Dr. Faustus* (21–22) and also in the *True Tragedy* (3 *Henry VI*, v. vi. 18 ff.).

247. *Triton's niece*] ' I can only suppose that Scylla, the daughter of Nisus, king of Megara, is meant ; see Ovid, *Met.*, VIII. 143–144. She had nothing to do with Triton, but the other Scylla, the sea-monster, who is often confused with her, is represented as either his daughter or sister' (McKerrow).

248. *O . . . harp*] Tetrameter. The erroneous spelling of the

That I may tice a dolphin to the shore,
 And ride upon his back unto my love ! 250
 Look, sister, look ! lovely Æneas' ships !
 See, see, the billows heave him up to heaven,
 And now down falls the keels into the deep !
 O sister, sister, take away the rocks !
 They'll break his ships. O Proteus, Neptune, Jove, 255
 Save, save Æneas, Dido's liefest love !
 Now is he come on shore, safe without hurt :
 But, see, Achates wills him put to sea,
 And all the sailors merry make for joy ;
 But he, remembering me, shrinks back again : 260
 See, where he comes ! welcome, welcome, my love !

Anna. Ah, sister, leave these idle fantasies !

Sweet sister, cease ; remember who you are.

Dido. Dido I am, unless I be deceiv'd :

And must I rave thus for a runagate ? 265

Must I make ships for him to sail away ?

Nothing can bear me to him but a ship,

And he hath all my fleet—What shall I do,

But die in fury of this oversight ?

Ay, I must be the murderer of myself : 270

No, but I am not ; yet I will be straight.— [*Aside.*

Anna, be glad ; now have I found a mean

252. *him*] Q ; 'em Dyce (2nd ed.) ; *them* Cunningham. 253. *falles*] Q ; *fall* Hurst. 259. *merrie make*] Q ; *merry-make* Dyce. 268. *my*] Hurst ; *thy* Q. 270. *Ay, I] I, I* Q. 271. *S. D. Aside*] add. Dyce (2nd ed.).

Quarto, *Orions*, may be an inadvertent slip by the author. Marlowe refers to Arion only here, but has several references to Orion (cf. note on I. ii. 26, above).

252. *him*] Aeneas. The emendation is unnecessarily hairsplitting.

254–255. *take . . . ships*] One would like to think this a reminiscence of Dorigen's cry in the Franklin's Tale, which was dramatized a score of years later by Beaumont and Fletcher (*Four Plays in One*).

257–262. *Now . . . fantasies*] This is so similar to 189–193 above as to suggest the suspicion that they were originally alternative versions of the same passage. See note on 190.

265. *runagate*] vagabond or *renegade*. Both senses occur ; cf. I *Tamburlaine*, III. iii. (1155), 'stragling Runnagates' ; *ibid.* (1323), 'villaines, thieues, runnagates' ; *Edward II* (1864), 'rebellious runnagates'.

270. *Ay, I] I* Since the affirmative *ay* was nearly always printed like

To rid me from these thoughts of lunacy !
 Not far from hence
 There is a woman famoused for arts, 275
 Daughter unto the nymphs Hesperides,
 Who will'd me sacrifice his ticing relics.
 Go, Anna, bid my servants bring me fire. [*Exit Anna.*]

Enter IARBAS.

Iar. How long will Dido mourn a stranger's flight,
 That hath dishonour'd her and Carthage both ? 280
 How long shall I with grief consume my days,
 And reap no guerdon for my truest love ?

Enter Attendants with wood and torches.

Dido. Iarbas, talk not of Æneas ; let him go !
 Lay to thy hands, and help me make a fire,
 That shall consume all that this stranger left ! 285
 For I intend a private sacrifice,
 To cure my mind, that melts for unkind love.

274-275. One line in Q. 276. *Daughter*] Q; *Guardian* conj. Bullen;
Drugster conj. Deighton. 282. S. D. *Enter . . . torches*] add. Dyce.

the pronoun *I*, it is impossible to say which was meant by the first *I* of the Quarto. In 289 below, 'Ay, ay' is evidently intended.

272. *Anna . . . mean*] Verbal influence from Vergil reappears at this point; cf. *Aen.*, iv. 478-479:

'Inveni, germana, viam—gratare sorori—

Quae mihi reddat eum, vel eo me solvat amantem.'

The first line is quite faithfully translated in 272, whereas 273 is only vaguely equivalent to the second.

274-277. *Not far . . . relics*] Abbreviated from *Aen.*, iv. 480-498.

274. *Not . . . hence*] In Vergil it is far to the west:

'Oceani finem iuxta solemque cadentem

Ultimus Aethiopum locus est'
 (478 f.).

275-276. *There . . . Hesperides*]

'Hinc mihi Massylae gentis mon-
 strata sacerdos,
 Hesperidum templi custos.'
 (483 f.)

Bullen says bluntly, '*Daughter* is nonsense.' It is not what Vergil wrote, but not more absurd than many other poetical phrases; e.g. 'daughter to a hundred earls.'

277. *Who . . . relics*] *Aen.*, iv. 497 f.:

'abolere nefandi Cuncta viri monu-
 menta iubet monstratque sacer-
 dos.'

283. *Iarbas . . . go*] A hexa-
 meter as the line stands, but there is little doubt that *Iarbas* should be regarded as extra-metrical, and the rest scanned as a nine-syllable verse.

Iar. But, afterwards, will Dido grant me love ?

Dido. Ay, ay, Iarbas ; after this is done,

None in the world shall have my love but thou. 290

[*They make a fire.*

So, leave me now ; let none approach this place.

[*Exit Iarbas with Attendants.*

Now, Dido, with these relics burn thyself,

And make Æneas famous through the world

For perjury and slaughter of a queen.

Here lie the sword that in the darksome cave 295

He drew, and swore by to be true to me ;

Thou shalt burn first ; thy crime is worse than his.

Here lie the garment which I cloth'd him in,

When first he came on shore : perish thou too.

These letters, lines, and perjur'd papers all, 300

Shall burn to cinders in this precious flame.

And now, ye gods, that guide the starry frame,

And order all things at your high dispose,

Grant, though the traitors land in Italy,

289. *Aye, aye*] Hurst ; *I, I* Q. 290. S. D. *They . . . fire*] add. Dyce. 291. S. D. *Exit . . . Attendants*] *Exit Iarbus* Q. 295, 298. *lye*] Q ; *lies* Hurst.

293. *famous . . . world*] A tag of which Marlowe was very fond. Compare *Tamburlaine*, III. iii. (1181),

'Thy fall shall make me famous through the world' ;

Dr. Faustus, 1616 text (p. 211, 1067),

'Thou shalt be famous through all Italy' ;

I Henry VI, III. iii. 13 :

'And we will make thee famous through the world.'

Cf. also III. i. 95, above.

295. *lie*] A subjunctive, both here and in line 298 : Let the sword lie here. The use is very common. *darksome cave*] Iarbas uses the same words above, IV. i. 24. Marlowe liked *darksome* : cf. *I Tam-*

burlaine, I. ii. (355), 'Avernas darksome vaults' ; *Hero and Leander*, II. 266, 'darksome couerture' ; Ovid, II. xi. 51, 'darkesome night'.

303. *dispose*] The only use of this word as a noun in Marlowe.

304-305. *Grant . . . unrest*] *Aen.*, IV. 612-615 :

'Si tangere portus
Infandum caput ac terris adnare
necesse est,
Et sic fata Iovis poscunt, hic
terminus haeret :
At bello audacis populi vexatus et
armis . . .'

306-308. *And from . . . sword*] *Aen.*, IV. 625 f. :

'Exoriare aliquis nostris ex ossibus ultor,
Qui face Dardanios ferroque
sequare colonos.'

They may be still tormented with unrest ; 305
 And from mine ashes let a conqueror rise,
 That may revenge this treason to a queen
 By plowing up his countries with the sword !
 Betwixt this land and that be never league ;
Litora litoribus contraria, fluctibus undas 310
Imprecor, arma armis ; pugnent ipsique nepotes !
 Live, false Æneas ! truest Dido dies ;
Sic, sic juvat ire sub umbras.

[*Throws herself into the flames.*

Enter ANNA.

Anna. O, help, Iarbas ! Dido in these flames
 Hath burnt herself ! ay me, unhappy me ! 315

Enter IARBAS, running.

Iar. Cursed Iarbas, die to expiate
 The grief that tires upon thine inward soul !—
 Dido, I come to thee.—Ay me, Æneas !
 [*Kills himself.*

Anna. What can my tears or cries prevail me now ?
 Dido is dead ! 320
 Iarbas slain, Iarbas my dear love !

313. S. D. *Throws . . . flames*] add. Dyce. 315, 318. *aye*] Q ; *ah*
 Hurst. 318, 329. S. D. add. Hurst.

The allusion is, of course, to Hannibal.

309. *Betwixt . . . league*] *Aen.*,
 iv. 624 :

' . . . Nullus amor populis, nec
 foedera sunt.'

310–311. *Litora . . . nepotes*] *Aen.*,
 iv. 628–629. Dyce notes
 that 'the approved reading is
 "pugnent ipsique nepotesque"'.
 The Frankfurt Vergil of 1596
 has *nepotes*.

313. *Sic . . . umbras*] *Aen.*, iv.
 660.

314–329. *O, help . . . thee*] 'The
 deaths of Iarbas and Anna are not
 recorded by Vergil' (McKerrow).
 The boy actors liked lurid tragedies,
 and so, of course, did Marlowe.

319. *prevail*] For other instances
 in the sense of 'avail' compare
Edward II (517), 'No speaking will
prevaille, and therefore cease'; 2
Tamburlaine, II. iii. (3092),
 'Nothing preuailes, for she is dead,
 my Lord.'

320–321. Printed as a single line
 in the Quarto. Mitford thinks this
 an actor's interpolation.

O sweet Iarbas, Anna's sole delight !
 What fatal Destiny envies me thus,
 To see my sweet Iarbas slay himself ?
 But Anna now shall honour thee in death, 325
 And mix her blood with thine ; this shall I do,
 That gods and men may pity this my death,
 And rue our ends, senseless of life or breath :
 Now, sweet Iarbas, stay ! I come to thee.

[*Kills herself.*

329. *Now . . . thee*] ' The closing line of *Dido* falls on the ear like the last line of Juliet's speech after drinking the potion ' (Ward, *Hist. Engl. Dram. Lit.*, 1898, I. 358, note 2).

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